ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

r274.2
St9m
v.1,pt.2
1624049

basement

REFERENCE

ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

STRYPE'S
WORKS
V.6

MEMORIALS

OF THE

Most Reverend Father in God

THOMAS CRANMER,

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

WHEREIN

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT, DURING THE PRIMACY OF THE SAID ARCHBISHOP,

Are greatly illustrated;

And many singular Matters relating thereunto, now first published (1694.)

In Three Books.

COLLECTED CHIEFLY FROM RECORDS, REGISTERS, AUTHENTIC LETTERS, AND OTHER ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

By JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

A NEW EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

VOL. I.

V. 1, pt. 2

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
MDCCCXII.

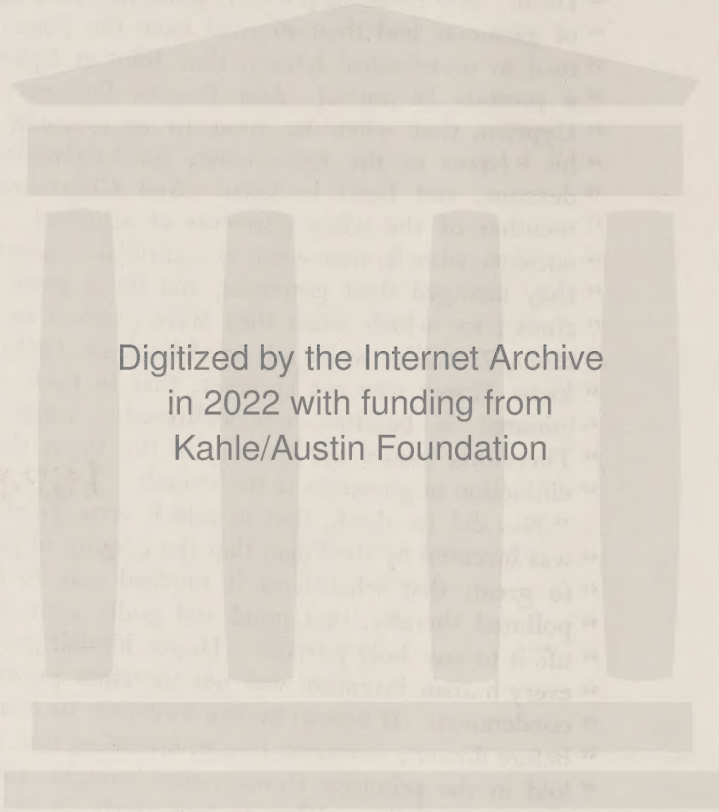
BOOK II. Anno 1550.

" liberty to uſe any thing that belonged to the Pope. Our " anceſtors took the idol temples, and uſed them for ſacred " houſes to worſhip Chriſt. And the revenues that were " conſecrated to the Gentile gods, and to the games of the " theatre, and of the veſtal virgins, were made uſe of for " the maintenance of the miniſters of the church; when " theſe before had ſerved not only to Antichriſt, but to the " Devil. Nor could he preſently grant that theſe differences " of garments had their original from the Pope: for we " read in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that John at Epheſus wore " a *petalum* [a mitre.] And Pontius Diaconus ſaith of " Cyprian, that when he went to be executed he gave " his [k] *birrus* to the executioner, his [k] *dalmatica* to the " deacons, and ſtood in linen. And Chryſoſtom makes " mention of the white garments of miniſters. And the " ancients witneſs, that when the chriſtians came to Chriſt, " they changed their garments, and for a gown put on a " cloak; for which when they were mocked by the hea- " thens, Tertullian wrote a learned book *De Pallio*. And he " knew Hoper was not ignorant, that to thoſe that were " initiated in baptiſm, was delivered a white garment. " Therefore, before the tyranny of the Pope, there was a " diſtinction of garments in the church.

1624019

" Nor did he think, that in caſe it were granted that it " was invented by the Pope, that the iniquity of popery was " ſo great, that whatſoever it touched was ſo dyed and " polluted thereby, that good and godly men might not " uſe it to any holy purpoſe. Hoper himſelf granted, that " every human invention was not therefore preſently to be " condemned. It was an human invention to communicate " before dinner: it was an human invention, that the things " ſold in the primitive church were brought and laid at " the Apoſtles' feet. That he was ready to confeſs with " him that theſe garments were an human invention, and of " themſelves edified not; but it was thought by ſome con- " ducive to be borne with for a time: for that it might " be a cauſe of avoiding thoſe contentions, whereby greater " benefits might be in danger to be obſtructed. But that " if hence an occaſion of erring might be given to the

[k] Epiſcopal garments.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/memorialsofmostr0001john

"weak, they were to be admoniſhed, that they ſhould "hold theſe things indifferent: and they were to be taught "in ſermons, that they ſhould judge not God's worſhip to "be placed in them."

Another objection of Hoper conſidered.

Hoper had writ, that the eyes of the ſtanders-by, by reaſon of theſe garments, would be turned away from thinking of ſerious things, and detained in gazing upon them. But this would not happen when the garments were ſimple and plain, without bravery, and ſuch as hitherto were uſed in the ſervice of God. But Martyr anſwered, "That uſe and cuſtom would take away admi-"ration: and perhaps, when the people were moved "with admiration, they would the more attentively think "of thoſe things that are ſerious. For which end," he ſaid "the ſacraments ſeemed to be invented, that from "the ſight and ſenſe of them we might be carried to think "of divine things."

Other things urged by him.

Hoper urged moreover, "That *whatſoever was not of* 215
"*faith, was ſin.*" But ſaid Martyr, "That we may enjoy "a quiet conſcience in our doings, that of the Apoſtle ſeems "much to tend, and that *to the clean all things are clean,* "ſaith the ſame Apoſtle to Titus; and to Timothy, that "*every creature of God is good.*"

He urged alſo, "That we ought to have expreſs Scrip-"ture for what we do in holy things." But Martyr was not of that mind; "but that that was enough in general, to "know by faith that indifferent things cannot defile thoſe "who act with a pure and ſincere mind and conſcience." And this was the ſubſtance of P. Martyr's judgment of theſe things: which might give much light to that reverend man in this controverſy, though he was not yet convinced, nor could comply.

Hoper confined to his houſe, and ſilenced.

As Hoper all this while refuſed the habit, ſo we may conjecture, by a paſſage in the former letter, that he liberally declaimed againſt them in the London pulpits. For Martyr takes notice to him of his "unſeaſonable and too bitter "ſermons." Whether it were for this, or his incompliance, or both together, I know not; but at length he was by the privy-council commanded to keep his houſe: unleſs it were to go to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the Council-Book.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

Bishops of Ely, London, or Lincoln, for counsel and satisfaction of his conscience; and neither to preach nor read till he had further licence from the council. But, notwithstanding this command, he kept not his house, and writ a book and printed it, intituled, *A Confession of his Faith:* written in such a manner, that it gave more distaste, and wherein was contained matter he should not have written. He went about also complaining of the King's counsellors; as Martyr wrote in a private letter to Bucer.

Committed to the Archbishop's custody.

On January the 13th, the court then at Greenwich, he appeared there before the council, (the Archbishop being then present,) touching the matter of not wearing the apparel, and for disobeying the council: who for this disobedience, and for that he continued in his former opinion of not wearing the apparel prescribed for bishops to wear, committed him to the Archbishop of Canterbury's custody, either there to be reformed, or further punished, as the obstinacy of his cause required.

Sent to the Fleet.

Being with the Archbishop, he did his endeavour to satisfy him. But Hoper was as immoveable to whatsoever the said Archbishop could propound and offer, as he was before with Ridley. So the Archbishop signified to the council, that he could bring him to no conformity, but that he declared himself for another way of ordination than was established. The effect of this was, that on January 27, upon this letter of the Archbishop, "That Hoper could not "be brought to any conformity; but rather, persevering "in his obstinacy, (they are the words of the council-book,) "coveted to prescribe orders and necessary laws of his head: "it was agreed that he should be committed to the Fleet." And a letter was drawn for the Archbishop to send Mr. Hoper to the Fleet upon the occasion aforesaid: and another letter to the Warden of the Fleet to receive him, and to keep him from the conference with any person, saving the ministers of that house. This disobedience of Hoper to the council's orders will make the severity of the council less liable to censure. Neither was Cranmer any other ways instrumental to Hoper's imprisonment, than by doing that which was expected from him, *viz.* giving a

Council Book.

216

true account of his unſucceſsful dealing with him. But at laſt he complied, and received conſecration after the uſual form: and the church enjoyed a moſt excellent inſtrument in him at this time for his learning, zeal, courage, and activity. CHAP. XVII. Anno 1550. Hoper conforms.

This news Peter Martyr ſignified in a letter to Gualter: for he and Bullinger, and the reſt of his friends at Zurick, had heard of this contention, and were much concerned for this their acquaintance. But as he was conſecrated in March, ſo in April following Martyr wrote to the ſaid Gualter, "That he had never been wanting to "Hoper, [whether in his counſel for ſatisfying his con-"ſcience, or in reſpect of his intereſt with the Arch-"biſhop, or other chief men,] and that he always hoped "well of his cauſe. That he now was freed of all his "troubles, and that he was actually in his biſhopriek, and "did diſcharge his office piouſly and ſtrenuouſly." This was the more acceptable news to the foreigners, becauſe ſome of the biſhops took occaſion, upon this diſobedience of Hoper, liberally to blame the churches abroad, among which Hoper had been, as though they had infuſed theſe principles into him: and then fell foul upon Bucer and Martyr, that were ſet, the one profeſſor in Cambridge, and the other in Oxon; as though they would corrupt all the youth in both univerſities: who would ſuck in from them ſuch principles as Hoper had done. This Bucer heard of, and writ it with a concern to Martyr. Who writ again, how amazed and almoſt ſtupified he was to hear this: but that it was well that the biſhops ſaw his letter to Hoper, which would vindicate him from ſuch imputations. And indeed both his and Bucer's letter, concerning this point, did or might ſeaſonably ſtop this clamour. Martyr to Gualter concerning Hoper's conformity.

BOOK II.
Anno 1550.

CHAP. XVIII.

Biſhop Hoper viſits his Dioceſe.

Hoper viſits his dioceſe.

THE ſummer next after his conſecration he went down and made a ſtrict viſitation of his dioceſe, fortified with letters from the privy-council; that ſo his authority might be the greater, and do the more good among an ignorant, ſuperſtitious, ſtubborn clergy and laity. I have ſeen a manuſcript in folio, giving an account of the whole viſitation, of the method thereof, and of the condition he found the clergy of the dioceſe in, as to their learning and abilities. Firſt, he ſent a general monitory letter to his clergy, ſignifying his intention of coming among them; gravely adviſing them of their office, and what was required of them who were entered into this holy vocation. This letter may be
No. XLVII. found in the Appendix. When he viſited them, he gave them articles concerning chriſtian religion, to the number of fifty; which bore this title: *Articles concerning Chriſten Religion, given by the Reverend Father in Chriſt John Hoper, Biſhop of*
217 *Glouceſter, unto all and ſingular Deans, Parſons, Prebendaries, Vicars, Curates, and other eccleſiaſtical miniſters within the dioceſe of Glouceſter, to be had and retained of them for the unity and agreement, as well as the doctrine of God's word, as alſo for the confirmation of the ceremonies agreeing with God's word.* Let me give the reader but a taſte of them.

His articles of religion.

"I. That none do teach any manner of thing to be "neceſſary for the ſalvation of man, other than what is "contained in the books of God's holy word.

"II. That they faithfully teach and inſtruct the people "committed unto their charge, that there is but one God, "everlaſting, incorporate, almighty, wiſe, and good, the "maker of heaven and earth, the father of our Lord Jeſus "Chriſt; by whom alſo he will be called upon by us. "And though one God in eſſence and unity in the "Godhead, yet in the ſame unity three diſtinct perſons.

"III. That they teach all the doctrines contained in the "three creeds.

"IV. That they teach that the church of God is the "congregation of the faithful, wherein the word of God is "truly preached, and the facraments juſtly miniſtered, "according to the inſtitution of Chriſt: and that the "church of God is not by God's word taken for the mul- "titude or company of men, as of biſhops, prieſts, and "ſuch other; but that it is the company of all men hearing "God's word, and obeying to the ſame; leſt that any man "ſhould be ſeduced, believing himſelf to be bound unto "an ordinary ſucceſſion of biſhops and prieſts, but only "unto the word of God, and the right uſe of his ſacra- "ments.

"V. That though the true church cannot err from the "faith; yet nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as no man is free from "ſin and lies, there is, nor can be any church known, be "it never ſo perfect or holy, but it may err." Theſe are the five firſt.

His injunctions and interrogatories.

Then he gave them injunctions to the number of one and thirty; ſeven and twenty interrogatories and demands of the people and pariſhioners, and of their converſation, to be required and known by the parſons, vicars, and curates. Sixty-one interrogatories and examinations of the miniſters, and of their converſation, to be required and known by the pariſhioners. There were alſo articles, whereupon all miniſters were examined concerning the Ten Commandments, the Articles of faith, and the petitions of the Lord's Prayer; *viz.* to each miniſter were theſe queſtions put:

1. Concerning the Commandments,
   1. How many Commandments.
   2. Where they are written.
   3. Whether they can recite them by heart.

2. Concerning the Chriſtian Faith,
   1. What are the Articles of the Chriſtian faith.
   2. Whether they can recite them by heart.
   3. That they corroborate them by authority of Scripture.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

3. Concerning the Lord's Prayer.
   1. Whether they can say the petitions by heart.
   2. How they know it to be the Lord's Prayer.
   3. Where it is written.

218 Which demands, how easy soever they were, many curates and priests (such was the ignorance of those days) could say but little to. Some could say the Pater Noster in Latin, but not in English. Few could say the Ten Commandments. Few could prove the Articles of faith by Scripture: that was out of their way.

The memory of such as have been greatly useful in the church or state ought religiously to be preserved. Of this number was this Bishop, who, as he was naturally an active man, put forth all his strength and vigour of body and mind to set forward a good reformation in religion, and afterwards as courageously shed his blood for it.

Holds Worcester *in commendam.*

Therefore I cannot part with this good prelate till I have gathered up and reposited here some farther memorials of him. The diocese of Worcester becoming void by the deprivation of Hethe in October 1551, and requiring an industrious man to be set over that see, it was given to Hoper to hold *in commendam*. In the year 1552, in July, he visited that diocese, which he found much out of order. But before he had finished, he was fain to go back to Gloucester, hearing of the ungodly behaviour of the ministers there. He left them the last year seemingly very compliant to be reformed, and took their subscription to his articles of religion. But in his absence, when his back was turned, they became as bad altogether as they were before. Yet he conceived good hopes of the lay-people, if they had but good justices and faithful ministers placed among them, as he wrote to Secretary Cecyl: to whom he signified his desire that the Articles of religion, which the King had mentioned to him when last at London, were set forth. Them he intended to make the clergy not only subscribe, (which, being privately done, he saw they regarded not,) but to read and confess them openly before their parishioners. At his visitation he constituted certain

of his clergy fuperintendants, who in his abfence were to have a conftant eye over the inferior clergy. CHAP. XVIII.

Anno 1550. And vifits that church and fee.

After this vifit to Glocefter, he returned back again to Worcefter in October, and then proceeded in his vifitation there. Here Johnfon and Jolliff, two canons of this church, difallowing fome doctrines recommended to them by the Bifhop, (in his articles abovefaid,) held a difpute thereupon with him and Mr. Harley, (who was afterward Bifhop of Hereford.) And one of thefe behaved himfelf moft infolently and difrefpectfully to both. The Bifhop fent up by Harley a large relation of his vifitation in writing, and the matter thefe canons mifliked, and recommended Harley to the Secretary to give account of the difputation. This caufed him to break out into a complaint for want of good men in the cathedrals: "Ah! "Mr. Secretary, that there were good men in the ca- "thedral churches! God then fhould have much more "honour than he hath, the King's Majefty more obedience, "and the poor people better knowledge: but the realm "wanteth light in fuch churches, whereas of right it ought "moft to be." In Worcefter church he now put in execution the King's Injunctions for the removal of fuperftition: for which there arofe a great clamour againft him, as though he had fpoiled the church; and yet he did no more than 219
the expreſs words of the Injunctions commanded to be done.

After his vifitation was over, he accounted not his work done; but foon went over both his dioceſes again, to take account of his clergy, how they profited fince his laft examining them; and to overfee even his fuperintendants themfelves, to commend their well-doings, and to fee what was ill done. So great was his pains and zeal; which made him moft truly and experimentally write as he did to the Secretary: There is none that eat their bread in the fweat of their face, but fuch as ferve in public vocation. Yours is wonderful, but mine paſſeth. Now I perceive that private labours be but plays, nor private troubles but eaſe and quietneſs. Theſe matters I extract from two original letters of this Bifhop to Secretary Cecyl; which I have thought well worthy of preſerving in the Appendix; and there they may be met with. Goes over both his dioceſes again.

Num. XLVIII.

BOOK II.

Anno 1550.

The council's order concerning the two canons. MS. Council Book.

Whereas it was mentioned before, how the Biſhop had ſent up a writing of the matters in controverſy between the two canons and himſelf, we may ſee what care the council took hereof, and what countenance they gave the Biſhop, by an order they made November 6, 1552. Which was, that a letter ſhould be wrote to Mr. Cheke and Mr. Harley, to conſider certain books ſent unto them touching matters of religion in controverſy between the Biſhop of Worceſter and two of the canons of Worceſter, and to certify their opinion hither, that further order may be therein taken.

Licence for the Biſhop of Gloceſter to attend upon the Duchefs of Somerſet in the Tower.

January 29, 1551. Upon ſuit made by the Duchefs of Somerſet to Sir Philip Hobby, and Mr. Darcy, Lieutenant of the Tower, to be a mean unto the King's Majeſty, and my Lords, that the Biſhop of Gloceſter (who had been Chaplain unto the Duke) might be ſuffered to have acceſs unto her for the ſettling of her conſcience; order was by their Lordſhips taken for the ſame, and a letter written to the Lieutenant of the Tower in that behalf, as followeth: "To "the Lieutenant of the Tower, to permit the Biſhop of "Gloceſter, from time to time, to ſpeak with the Du- "chefs of Somerſet, in the preſence of Sir Philip Hobby, and "of the ſaid Lieutenant: and in caſe the ſaid Lady of So- "merſet deſire to ſpeak with the ſaid Biſhop apart, that "in that caſe they licenſe her ſo to do.

Other matters relating to this Biſhop.

"May 29, 1552. A warrant to make a book to the elect "Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, of diſcharge of the "firſt fruits and tenths to be paid for the ſame, in conſidera- "tion that he hath departed with certain lands to the King's "Majeſty: which probably he ſeeing would, whether he "would or no, be pulled away from him, to be conferred "upon ſome of the mighty of the court, made the beſt of a "bad market, and got himſelf freed from that charge, pay- "able to the King.

"April 12, 1553. A letter was wrote to the Chancellor "of the Augmentations, to cauſe a book to be made from "the Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, of a ſurrender to "the King's Majeſty of his juriſdiction in the foreſt of Dean, "with a certain deanery, which of right belongeth to the "biſhoprick of Hereford: and thereupon to make another

"book of the grant thereof from his Highneſs to Mr. Har- CHAP. XVIII.
"ley, elect Biſhop of Hereford. Anno 1550.

"April 16, 1553. A letter to the Chancellor of the Aug- 220
"mentations, to cauſe a book to be deviſed in form of law, li-
"cenſing the Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter to give to
"three poor vicarages in his dioceſe, the parſonages where-
"of are impropriated to his biſhoprick, ſuch augmentation
"of living towards their better maintenance, as he ſhall
"think convenient, out of the lands of the ſaid ſee.

"April 25, 1553. A warrant to the receiver of the wards,
"to deliver to the Biſhop of Worceſter, by way of reward,
"twenty pounds for his attendance here ever ſince the par-
"liament by his Majeſty's commandment. Theſe are tran-
"ſcriptions out of a council-book."

CHAP. XIX.

Troubles of Biſhop Gardiner.

IN this year 1550, the council and our Archbiſhop had much trouble with ſome other biſhops alſo, of a quite different judgment from the above ſpoken of; I mean Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, Nicolas Biſhop of Worceſter, and Day Biſhop of Chicheſter: of whom what I ſhall here briefly ſet down are for the moſt part extractions out of an old council-book, and King Edward's Journal.

At Greenwich, June 8, was this order of council con- Divers great Lords repair to Gardiner.
cerning Biſhop Gardiner; "Conſidering the long impri-
"ſonment that the Biſhop of Wincheſter hath ſuſtained, it
"was now thought time he ſhould be ſpoken withal; and
"agreed, that if he repented his former obſtinacy, and
"would henceforth apply himſelf to advance the King's Ma-
"jeſty's proceedings, his Highneſs in this caſe would be his
"good lord, and remit all his errors paſt: otherwiſe his
"Majeſty was reſolved to proceed againſt him as his obſti-
"nacy and contempt required. For the declaration where-
"of, the Duke of Somerſet, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord
"Privy Seal, the Lord great Chamberlain, and Mr. Secre-

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

"tary Petre, were appointed the next day [i. e. June 9.] to "repair unto him. Signed by E. Somerſet, T. Cant. W. "Wilts, J. Bedford, E. Clynton, T. Ely, A. Wyngfeld, W. "Herbert, W. Petre, Edw. North." Accordingly, June 9, the Duke of Somerſet, the Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of Bedford, and Secretary Petre, went to the Biſhop of Wincheſter to know what he would ſtick to; whether to conform to and promote the King's laws, or no? He anſwered, "That he would obey and ſet forth all "things ſet forth by the King and parliament: and if he were "troubled in conſcience, he would reveal it to the council, "and not reaſon openly againſt it." And then he deſired to ſee the King's book of proceedings. At Greenwich, June 10, report was made by the Duke of Somerſet and the reſt, ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, that he deſired to ſee the ſaid book. The next day were the books ſent to him, and delivered to him by the Lieutenant of the Tower, as the council appointed, to ſee if he would ſet his hand to them, and promiſe to ſet them forth to the people. At Greenwich, June 13, the Lieutenant of the Tower declared unto the
221 council, that the Biſhop, having peruſed the books of the proceedings, ſaid unto him, He could make no direct anſwer, unleſs he were at liberty, and ſo being, he would ſay his conſcience. On the 14th day the Duke of Somerſet, and five more of the council, again repaired to the Biſhop, to whom he made this anſwer; "I have deliberately ſeen the "Book of Common Prayer. Although I would not have "made it ſo myſelf, yet I find ſuch things in it as ſatisfy "my conſcience: and therefore I will both execute it my-"ſelf, and alſo ſee others my pariſhioners to do it." And this the counſellors teſtified under their hands as his ſaying.

The council's proceedings with him.

July the 9th, there were certain articles drawn up, ſigned by King and council, for the Biſhop to ſubſcribe; which contained the confeſſion of his fault; the ſupremacy of the King and his ſucceſſors; the eſtabliſhing of holy-days, or diſpenſing with them to be in the King; the ſervice-book to be godly and chriſtian; the acknowledgment of the King to be ſupreme head, and to ſubmit to him and his laws under age; the aboliſhing the ſix Articles: and the King's power of correcting and reforming the church. Theſe articles, to-

gether with a letter from the King, the Earl of Warwick, Lord great Maſter; the Lord St. John, Lord Treaſurer; Sir William Herbert, Maſter of the Horſe; and Secretary Petre, carried to the Biſhop, requiring him to ſign them. Which he did, only making exception to the firſt. CHAP. XIX. Anno 1550.

July 10, the ſaid Lords made report unto the council, that they had delivered the King's letter unto the Biſhop, together with the articles. Unto all which articles he ſubſcribed thus with his own hand, *Stev. Winton*, ſaving the firſt: againſt which he wrote in the margin theſe words; "I cannot in my conſcience confeſs the preface, knowing "myſelf to be of that ſort I am indeed, and ever have been. To which articles, thus ſubſcribed by the Biſhop, theſe of the council wrote their names; E. Somerſ. W. Wilts, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, E Clynton, G. Cobham, William Paget, W. Herbert, W. Petre, Edw. North.

July 11, at Weſtminſter, this was brought to the council: and his boggling in this manner at the confeſſion diſpleaſed the King, that being the principal point. But to the intent he ſhould have no juſt cauſe to ſay he was not mercifully handled, it was agreed, that Sir William Herbert and the Secretary ſhould go the next day to him to tell him, that the King marvelled he refuſed to put his hand to the confeſſion: and that if the words thereof ſeemed too ſore, then to refer it to himſelf in what ſort, and with what words, he ſhould deviſe to ſubmit himſelf; that, upon the acknowledgment of his fault, the King might extend his mercy towards him, as was determined.

July 13, Sir William Herbert and the Secretary reported, that the Biſhop ſtood preciſely in his own juſtification. He ſaid, "That he could not ſubſcribe to the confeſſion, becauſe "he was innocent; and alſo becauſe the confeſſion was but "the preface to the articles." Upon this it was agreed by the council, that a new book of articles, and a new ſubmiſſion, ſhould be deviſed for the Biſhop to ſubſcribe. And the Biſhop of London, Secretary Petre, Mr. Cecyl, and Goodrick, a common lawyer, were commanded to make theſe articles according to law. And then, for the more authentic proceeding with the Biſhop, the two former perſons were again to reſort to him with the new draught, and to Articles propounded to him to ſubſcribe. 222

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

take with them a divine, which was the Bifhop of London, and a lawyer, which was Goodrick. Thefe articles were twenty-two in number, and to this tenor; "That King Henry "VIII. had juftly fuppreffed monafteries. That perfons may "marry, who are not prohibited to contract matrimony by "the Levitical law, without the Bifhop of Rome's difpenfa- "tion. That vowing or going pilgrimages were juftly abo- "lifhed; the counterfeiting St. Nicholas, St. Clement, &c. "was mere mockery. That it is convenient that the Scrip- "tures fhould be in Engliih. That the late King, and "the prefent, did upon juft ground take into their hands "chauntries, which were for maintenance of private maffes. "That private maffes were juftly taken away by the fla- "tutes of the realm; and the communion placed inftead "thereof, is very godly. That it is convenient that the "facrament fhould be received in both kinds. That the "mafs, where the prieft doth only receive, and others look "on, is but the invention of man. That it was upon good "and godly confideration ordered in the book, that the "facrament fhould not be lifted up, and fhewed to the peo- "ple to be adored. That it is politicly and godly done, that "images in churches, and mafs-books, were enacted to be "abolifhed. That bifhops, prieits, and deacons have no "commandment in the law of God to vow chaftity, or ab- "ftain from marriage. And that all canons and conftitu- "tions, which do prohibit marriage to the clergy, be juftly "taken away by parliament. That the Homilies, and the "forms fet forth of making archbifhops, bifhops, prieits, "and deacons, are godly and wholefome, and ought to be "received. That the orders of Subdeacon, Benet, and Co- "let, &c. be not neceffary, and juftly left out in the book of "orders. That the holy Scriptures contain fufficiently "all doctrines neceffary to falvation. That upon good and "godly confideration it was enjoined that Erafmus's Para- "phrafes fhould be fet up in churches. And that it was "the King's pleafure that the Bifhop fhould affirm thefe "articles by fubfcription of his hand, and declare himfelf "willing to publifh and preach the fame." Thefe articles were brought to the Bifhop by the Mafter of the Horfe, and Secretary Petre, with the Bifhop of London, and Goodrick.

CHAP. XIX. Anno 1550.

To whom the Bifhop anfwered, "That he would not con- "fent to the article of fubmiffion; praying to be brought "to his trial, and defired nothing but juftice. And for the "reft of the articles, when he was at liberty, then it fhould "appear what he would do in them, it not being reafonable "he fhould fubfcribe them in prifon."

This being reported to the council, July 15, it was agreed that he fhould be fent for before the whole council, and examined, whether he would ftand at this point? which if he did, then to denounce the fequeftration of his benefice for three months, with intimation, if he reformed not in that fpace, to deprive him. This order was figned by Somerfet, Wilts, Bedford, Clynton, Paget, Wyngfield, Herbert.

223 Winchefter fequeftered for three months.

July 19, the Bifhop of Wynton was brought before the council; and there the articles before mentioned were read unto him diftinctly. Whereunto he refufed either to fubfcribe or confent: anfwering in thefe words, "That in all "things his Majefty would command him, he was willing "and moft ready to obey; but forafmuch as there were "divers things required of him, which his confcience would "not bear, therefore he prayed them to have him excufed." And thereupon Secretary Petre, by the council's order, proceeded to read the fequeftration. Thus fairly and calmly was this Bifhop dealt with by the King and his council, from June 8, to July 19. And notwithftanding this fentence, the council favourably ordered, that the Bifhop's houfe and fervants fhould be maintained in their prefent ftate until the expiration of the three months; and that the matter in the mean time fhould be kept fecret.

The fequeftration expires.

The three months expired October 19: but with fuch clemency was he ufed, that it was November 23, before his bufinefs was renewed. And then, confidering the time of his intimation was long fithence expired, it was agreed, that the Bifhop of Ely, Mr. Secretary Petre, Dr. May, and Dr. Glynne, all learned in the civil law, fhould fubftantially confer upon the matter: and upon Tuefday next, the 26th day of this prefent, to certify unto the council what was to be done duly by order of the law in this cafe. And now the Archbifhop of Canterbury began to be concerned in this

Council-Book.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

troublesome business. A commission, dated December 12, was issued out from the King to the said Archbishop, and to the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, to Sir William Petre, Sir James Hales, and some other lawyers, to call the said Bishop of Winchester before them, and, continuing in his contempt, to proceed to deprive him.

December 14, the Lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to bring the Bishop on Monday next to Lambeth before my Lord of Canterbury, and other commissioners, upon his cause: and likewise upon their appointment to bring him thither from day to day, at times by them prefixed.

The commissioners sit to examine him.

December 15. was the day of Winchester's first appearance. The business done this session was the opening and reading the commission; and, after that, divers articles against the Bishop: who then made a speech. Wherein, first, he protested against these his judges, and excepted against their commission; and required this his protestation to be entered into the acts of the court. Then desiring a copy of the commission, it was granted him, together with that of the articles too, to make his answers to. Next, the Archbishop gave him his oath to make true answer: which he took still with his protestation. Then the Bishop desiring counsel, the Archbishop and the rest not only granted his request, but allowed him whomsoever he should name: which was the next day allowed also by an order of council. Certain honourable persons were deposed and sworn for witnesses, as Sir Anthony Wingfield, Controller of the Household; Sir William Cecyl, Secretary; Sir Rafe Sadleir; Sir Edward North; Dr. Cox, Almoner; and others. The Bishop also protested against them, and the swearing of them. At this first sessions he had also said, in the hearing of a great multitude present, concerning the Duke of Somerset and some other privy-councellors, sent to him in the Tower, "that they had "made an end with him before for all the matters for "which he was committed: insomuch that he verily "thought he should never have heard any more of it."

224

A letter of some noblemen, which he had heard.

This, coming soon to the ears of these nobles, highly offended them, as reporting falsely of them. So that, to justify themselves in as public a manner, the next sessions they sent their letter, dated December 17, signed by the Duke

of Somerſet, the Earls of Wiltſhire and Bedford, and Sir Edward North: wherein they denied any ſuch matter; ſaying, "that the Biſhop defended his cauſe with untruths, and "that, upon their fidelities and honours, his tale was falſe "and untrue; for that their coming to him in the Tower "was to do their endeavour to reclaim him. And they "prayed the commiſſioners, that, for their vindication, they "would cauſe this their letter to be publicly read." Which was accordingly done; though the Biſhop, thinking how this would reflect upon him under his former profeſſation, laboured hard that he might firſt be heard, and that he had ſomething to propoſe why it ſhould not be read. Which notwithſtanding they would not grant. CHAP. XIX. Anno 1550.

January 19. The council ſitting at Greenwich, the Biſhop's ſervants came and deſired, that certain of them might be ſworn upon certain articles for witneſs on his behalf. And if they might not be ſworn, that upon their honours, as they would anſwer before God, they would witneſs truly according to their conſcience, and as effectually as if they were ſworn upon a book. And they were allowed.

Gardiner offers his book againſt Cranmer to the commiſſioners.

The Biſhop, to make his cauſe the more plauſible, as though he were the public defender of the Roman catholic church in England at this time, laboured to make it believed, that he fell into all this trouble for the defence of the real preſence in the ſacrament, and for maintaining the catholic doctrine in a ſermon before the King; and that he made his book to vindicate himſelf therein. And therefore, in one of his appearances before the commiſſioners, openly in the court delivered them his book againſt Archbiſhop Cranmer, printed in France: and, to make it ſuit the better, he had altered ſome lines in the beginning of his book, ſo as to make it to relate to his preſent caſe. But in truth Gardiner had wrote and finiſhed his book before. This Cranmer unveiled in his anſwer to this book of Gardiner's: ſaying there, "that he made his book before he was called before "the commiſſioners, as he could prove by a book under "his own hand-writing: and that he was called before the "commiſſioners by his own ſuit and procurement, and as it "were enforcing the matter. But indeed the true cauſe "was, that he was called to juſtice for his manifeſt con- Page 2.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

"tempt and continual diſobedience from time to time, or "rather rebellion againſt the King's Majeſty; and was de- "prived of his ſtate for the ſame."

He is deprived.

225 In ſhort, after a great deal of pains and patience, the Biſhop was by the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the commiſſioners deprived, after no leſs than two and twenty ſeſſions, held at divers places, that is, from the 15th of December to the 14th of February: though Stow falſely nameth but ſeven. The Biſhop, when he ſaw the ſentence definitive ready to be pronounced, made an appeal from them to the King: for his doing which he produced theſe reaſons. For that theſe his pretended judges were not indifferent, but prejudiced againſt him. That my Lord of Canterbury had cauſed him to be ſent to priſon, (whereas the Archbiſhop was only preſent at the council when he was by them ordered to the Tower:) and ſo had Hales, Goodrick, and Goſnold counſelled to ſend him thither. Alſo, that the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhops of London and Lincoln, did contrary to the laws eccleſiaſtical, and taught and ſet forth manifeſt condemned errors againſt the preſence in the ſacrament. And becauſe the Biſhop, as well in his writings, as otherwiſe, did ſet forth the catholic faith of the very preſence of Chriſt's body and blood: therefore they ſhewed themſelves unduly affected towards him. That Sir William Petre decreed the fruits of his biſhoprick to be ſequeſtered *de facto, ſed non de jure*, and now was judge in his own cauſe. But notwithſtanding this appeal, the Archbiſhop with the reſt of the commiſſioners pronounced him deprived, and his biſhoprick void. After this was done, the Biſhop appealed again to the King, inſtantly, more inſtantly, moſt inſtantly, from their ſentence as injuſt, and of no effect in law; and aſked of them letters dimiſſory to be granted to him, and a copy of the judgment. But the judges declared they would firſt know the pleaſure of the King and his council therein. And ſo this laſt ſeſſion brake up.

The council's order for his ſtrait confinement.

The day after, being the 15th of February, the council ſitting at Weſtminſter, upon debating the Biſhop of Winton's caſe; "Foraſmuch as it appeared he had at all times, be- "fore the judges of his cauſe, uſed himſelf unreverently to "the King's Majeſty, and ſlanderfully towards his council;

Council-Book.

" and especially yesterday, being the day of his judgment given against him, he called his judges heretics and sacramentaries, they being there the King's commissioners, and of his Highness's council; it was therefore concluded by the whole board, that he should be removed from the lodging he hath now in the Tower to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him but one, by the Lieutenant's appointment, in such sort as by the resort of any man to him, he have not the liberty to send out to any man, or to hear from any man. And likewise that his books and papers be taken from him, and seen; and that from henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper to write his detestable purposes, but be sequestered from all conferences, and from all means that may serve him to practise any way."

CHAP. XIX. Anno 1550.

March 8, at Westminster. This day, by the King's Majesty's own appointment, Dr. Poynet, Bishop of Rochester, was chosen Bishop of Winchester. And the Archbishop of Canterbury had given him 266l. 13s. 4d. (i. e. 400 marks) for his pains and charges about the Bishop of Winchester. And thus I have, from very authentic authority, gathered together these memorials of this turbulent haughty man; who was now so seasonably laid aside in this King's reign, till we hear of him loudly in the next; when he sufficiently wracked his revenge against our good Archbishop and the true religion. 226

Poynet made Bishop of Winton.

CHAP. XX.

Bishop Hethe and Bishop Day, their Deprivations.

WHILE the aforesaid Bishop lay under sequestration in the Tower, two other Bishops, that were wayward to the King's proceedings in the reformation of the church, (*viz.* of Worcester and Chichester,) came under the hands of the privy-council, resolving to make them comply, or deprive them: that others, more willing and better affected to reformation, might succeed and do service in the church; and

Other popish Bishops dealt with.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

that the Archbiſhop might go forward with leſs ſtop and impediment in the good work he had dedicated himſelf unto. Both of them were of the Archbiſhop's raiſing, and ſeemed very compliant with the Archbiſhop during King Henry's reign. But now both hung off from him, ſeeming much offended with him for his relinquiſhing the doctrine of the corporeal preſence, and for writing a book againſt it: whereof they made mention, with diſlike, in their depoſitions in the Biſhop of Wincheſter's trial before the commiſſioners.

Biſhop Hethe's troubles.

In the laſt year, the year 1549, twelve learned divines, biſhops and others, were appointed by the council to prepare a new book for the ordination of miniſters, purged of the ſuperſtitions of the old ordinal. Hethe Biſhop of Worceſter was nominated for one of theſe: but he, not liking the thing, would not agree to what the others did, nor ſubſcribe the book when made. For which, in March, he was committed to the Fleet; where he lay under eaſy confinement all the next year, the year 1550; during which time I find him once produced as a witneſs on Biſhop Gardiner's behalf.

Sent for before the council.

Council-Book.

But in the year 1551, the court being at Chelſey, and the council ſitting September 22, by virtue of the King's expreſs commandment, Nicolas Biſhop of Worceſter was ſent for, and came before the Lords and others: to whom was repeated the cauſe of his impriſonment to be, for that he refuſed to ſubſcribe the book deviſed for the form of making archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, being authorized by parliament. At the time of which refuſal, being not only gently and reaſonably required to ſubſcribe it, but alſo being manifeſtly taught by divers other learned men, that all things contained in the book were good and true, and that the book was expedient and allowable, the ſaid Biſhop declared himſelf to be a very obſtinate man. And for this his doing, it was now ſhewed unto him, that he deſerved longer impriſonment. Nevertheleſs the King's Majeſty's clemency was ſuch, that now if he had, or would reconcile himſelf to obey his Majeſty in this former commandment, he ſhould
227 recover the King's Majeſty's favour. For which cauſe it was told him, that he was then preſently ſent for, and willed

now to subscribe the same. Whereunto he answered, "That he took the cause of his imprisonment to be as was "alleged, and that also he was very gently used, rather "like a son than a subject. Nevertheless," he said, "he re- "mained still in the same mind, not willing to subscribe it, "although he would not disobey it." And although he was reasoned withal by every of the said council in disproving his manner of answer, that he would not subscribe it, being every thing in the said book, true and good; and being devised by eleven other learned men, to which he was joined as the twelfth, and received of all the whole estate of the realm; agreeing also that he would obey it, not subscribe it, which contained a contradiction in reason: yet he still, as a man not removeable from his own conceit, refused to subscribe it. Whereupon, to prove all manner of ways for the winning of him to his duty, he was offered to have conference with learned men, and to have time to consider the matter better. Whereunto he said, "That he could not have "better conference than he had heretofore: and well might "he have time, but of other mind he thought never to be: "adding, that there were many other things whereunto he "would never consent, if he were demanded, as to take "down the altars and set up tables." And in this sort, seeing him obstinately settled in mind not to be conformable, he was in the King's Majesty's name expressly commanded and charged to subscribe the same book before Thursday next following, being the 24th hereof, upon pain of deprivation of his bishoprick, to all and singular effects which might follow thereof. And hearing the commandment, he resolutely answered, "He could not find in his conscience to "do it, and should be well content to abide such end, either "by deprivation or otherwise, as pleased the King's Ma- "jesty." And so, as a man incorrigible, he was returned to the Fleet. This order was subscribed by these of the privy-council; W. Wilts, J. Warwyck, W. Herbert, W. Cecyl, Jo. Mason.

That which gave the council the first occasion against Day Bishop of Chichester, troublesome. Council-Book. Bishop of Chichester was, partly his refusal of complying with the order of changing the altars in his diocese into tables; and partly going down into his diocese, and there

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

preaching againſt it, and other matters of that nature then in agitation, to the raiſing of dangerous tumults and diſcontents among the people. This came to the council's ears; and October 7, this year, Dr. Cox, the King's Almoner, was ordered to repair into Suſſex to appeaſe the people by his good doctrine, which were now troubled through the ſeditious preaching of the Biſhop of Chicheſter and others.

November 8, the ſaid Biſhop appeared before the council to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be objected againſt him for preaching. And becauſe he denied the words of his accuſation, therefore he was commanded within two days to bring in writing what he preached.

Biſhop Day will not pull down altars.

November 30. This day the Duke of Somerſet declared to the council, that the Biſhop of Chicheſter came within two days paſt, and ſhewed to him, that he received letters from the King's Majeſty, ſigned with his Majeſty's hand, and ſubſcribed with the hands of divers Lords of the
228 council. The tenor of which letter here enſueth; *Right reverend Father in God, &c.* [It is the ſame letter as is printed in Fox's Acts, about pulling down altars.] According to this letter the ſaid Biſhop ſaid, he could not conform his conſcience to do that he was by the ſaid letter commanded; and therefore prayed the ſaid Duke he might be excuſed. Whereunto the ſaid Duke, for anſwer, uſed divers reaſons moving the ſaid Biſhop to do his duty, and in ſuch things to make no conſcience, where no need is. Nevertheleſs the ſaid Biſhop would not be removed from his former opinion. Therefore the ſaid Duke ſaid, he would make report to the reſt of the council. And ſo in the end he prayed the Lords of the council this day, that the Biſhop might be ſent for, and ſhew his mind touching this caſe. Which was agreed, and commandment given for the Biſhop to be at the council the next day.

Appears before the council.

December 1, the Biſhop came before the council; and being aſked what he ſaid to the letters ſent to him from the King's Majeſty, he anſwered, "That he could not "conform his conſcience to take down the altars in the "churches, and in lieu of them to ſet up tables, as the letter "appointed: for that he ſeemed for his opinion to have "the Scripture, and conſent of the doctors and fathers

CHAP. XX. Anno 1550.

"of the church; and contrariwise did not perceive any "strength in the six reasons, which were set forth by the "Bishop of London to persuade the taking down altars "and erection of tables." And then, being demanded what Scripture he had, he alleged a saying in Esay: which place, being considered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and other Lords of the council, was found of no purpose to maintain his opinion. Es. xix. 19.

The Archbishop and Bishop of Ely reason with him.

And thereupon, by the said Archbishop and Bishop of Ely, divers good reasons were given to prove that it was convenient to take down the altars, as things abused; and in lieu of them to set up tables, as things most meet for the supper of the Lord, and most agreeable to the first constitution. And besides that, his other reasons were then fully answered.

The council give him time to confer.

Wherefore the council commanded him expressly, in the King's name, to proceed to the execution of his Majesty's commandment in the said letter expressed. Whereunto he made request, "That he might not be commanded to "offend his conscience: saying, if his conscience might be "instructed to the contrary, he would not thus molest the "council with his refusal." Which his saying, considered by the council, moved them to shew thus much favour unto him; that they willed him to resort unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely or London, and confer with them in the matter, so as he might be instructed by them to accept the just command of the King's Majesty with a safe conscience. And for his second answer, day was given him until the 4th of this month: at which day he was commanded to return again.

Before the council again.

December 4. This day the Bishop of Chichester came before the council; and was demanded, Whether he had been with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other Bishops, according to former order given him; who answered, "That he was one afternoon at Lambeth, to have "waited on the Archbishop; but he was answered, that he "was at the court: and upon a demand what time his 229
"Grace would come home, one of the chamberlains," as he saith, "answered, That he doubted it would be late ere

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

"his Grace come home, becauſe he ſo uſed. Therefore "he tarried not. And to any other Biſhops he made no "repair:" ſaying further, "he had not been well in health; "for the which cauſe he took ſome phyſic yeſterday." The Archbiſhop thereunto ſaid, that the ſame afternoon that the Biſhop of Chicheſter had been there, he came home very early on purpoſe to have conferred with the ſaid Biſhop: for the which cauſe he had leave of the King's Majeſty to depart the ſame day home ſooner than for other buſineſs he might conveniently. To the matter he was aſked, What mind he was of touching the executing the King's command; and what he could ſay why the ſame ſhould not be obeyed? who anſwered as he did before, "That his conſcience would not permit him to do the "ſame; for that the ſame was againſt the Scripture and the "doctors." And being aſked of the firſt, he alleged a place in the laſt to the Hebrews, mentioning the word ALTAR: which place, being conſidered, was manifeſtly by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of Ely declared to be meant of Chriſt: as by the very context of the ſame moſt manifeſtly appeared to every reader. Next to this he alleged the former place of Iſay, which alſo was moſt evident to be meant otherwiſe than he alleged, and ſo proved. As to the uſe of the primitive church, beſides the texts of the New Teſtament, it was moſt clearly by Origen contra Celſum proved, that in his time chriſten men had no altars, by direct negative propoſitions. Beſides this, the abuſe of the altars was ſhewed unto him, and reaſons declared how neceſſary it was to reform the ſame. Touching the naming the table an altar, it was left indifferent to him, becauſe ancient writers ſometimes call the table an altar. But yet, notwithſtanding that his own reaſons were fully ſolved, and divers good and weighty reaſons made, he perſevered in the pertinacy of his own ſingular opinion. Whereupon the council, rehearſing to him the evil that ſhould come of this his diſobedience if he ſhould be ſuffered, commanded him, in the King's Majeſty's name, upon his allegiance expreſsly to become an obedient ſubject, and ſo to execute the King's commandment. And for that it ſhould appear to him that there was as

Heb. xiii. 10.

much favour meant as might be, not offending the King's Majesty, in his Majesty's behalf they would be so bold as to appoint him Sunday next to make his final answer; and in the mean time he might advise himself, and weigh the cause as it ought to be. And so the day was given him.

Before the council the third time.

December 7, the Bishop of Chichester again appeared before the council; and being asked touching the execution of his Majesty's commandment in the letter, he answered plainly, "He could not do it, saving his conscience: for the "altars seemed to him a thing anciently established by the "agreement of the holy fathers, and confirmed by ancient "doctors, with the custom also of a number of years, and, "as he thought, according to the Scriptures. Where-"fore he could not in conscience consent to the abolishing "of them, and determined rather to lose all that ever he 230 "had, than to condemn his own conscience; with many "other circumstances to that effect." Finally, the matter being well debated, it was thought good yet to give him two days respite further to be advised, in hope he might reconcile himself: which if he did not upon his next answer, appointed to be upon Tuesday next, the council agreed to proceed ordinarily against him, as against a contemptuous person, by way of sequestration.

And the fourth time, when he was sent to the Fleet.

December 9. This day the Bishop of Chichester appeared before the council: and being demanded whether he would obey the King's commandment in pulling down the altars, as is before rehearsed; he answered, "That he thanked "both the King's Highness, and his council, of their great "clemency used towards him: but he said he could not by "any means persuade himself to do that thing that was "against his conscience. Wherefore he prayed them to do "with him what they thought requisite; for he would "never obey to do the thing that his conscience would not "bear." Whereupon for his contempt he was, by the order of the whole council, committed to ward in the Fleet, till further order should be taken for him.

Commissioners appointed for Worcester and Chichester.

We hear no more of him and his fellow, the Bishop of Worcester, till nine months hence. And so we leave them both in the Fleet till September 27, 1551. When we find Sir Roger Cholmeley, Kt. Lord Chief Baron of the Exche-

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

quer, Sir Richard Read, Richard Goodrick, John Gofnold, John Oliver, and Richard Ryel, being commiſſioners appointed by the King's Majeſty for the proceedings in the cauſes laid againſt theſe two Biſhops, were commanded, by letter from the council, to call the ſaid Biſhops before them at Whitehall; and beginning with the Biſhop of Worceſter's cauſe, to proceed alſo with Chicheſter: ſo as the judgment of the one might ſucceed the other, without any delay of time more than needed. And when the acts of the council proceeded in thoſe cauſes ſhould be requiſite, the ſame, upon knowledge given thither, ſhould be ſent them: and in the mean time to uſe for their inſtruction the acts that were paſſed upon Worceſter's cauſe, and thoſe that Mr. Read had already concerning Chicheſter; with admonition, ſeeing their contempts ſo evident, not to give them any long delay, by granting any learned counſel, or otherwiſe by ſuch pretexts.

They are deprived.

September 28, the council ſent a letter to the Lord Chancellor, with the commiſſion directed to the abovenamed perſons, for the examination and determining of the Biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter's cauſes: praying him to ſend the ſame to ſuch of the council as are at or near London, whoſe hands be not thereto, that they might ſign it; and then to ſeal it, and ſend it with a letter from the ſaid Lords, enclоſed within his, to the ſaid commiſſioners. According to theſe orders, within leſs than a month, theſe two Biſhops were at laſt deprived, after the expectation of their compliances a long while.

And October 24, 1551, the council ſent a letter to the Chancellor of the Augmentations, to take immediate order for ſeizure in the King's Majeſty's hands of the temporalties
231 of their biſhopricks, lately given to his Highneſs by the judgment paſſed by the commiſſioners, appointed for the hearing of thoſe Biſhops' cauſes.

Placed, the one with the Lord Chancellor, the other with the Biſhop of London.

Theſe Biſhops remained priſoners in the Fleet, after their deprivation, till the next ſummer: when, as it ſeems, for their healths-ſake, they deſired to be removed to ſome place of better air, and more liberty. Whereupon, June 15, 1552, Dr. Day was ſent to the Biſhop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, and Dr. Hethe to the Biſhop of London, by the appoint-

ment of his Majefty. And they were directed to ufe them as to chriftian charity fhould be moft feemly. At whofe hands the King doubted not but they fhould receive fuch chriftian advice, as would tend to the glory of God. July 17, upon the motion of the Bifhop of London, the Lords of the council were content that he fhould fend Dr. Hethe unto the Bifhop's own houfe at London [from Fulham] to recover his health, and then to have him again. So far more kindly were thefe Popifh bifhops dealt withal in this reign, than the Proteftant bifhops were in the next. Hoper, Bifhop of Glocefter, fucceeded in the fee of Worcefter; and Scory, Bifhop of Rocheſter, in that of Chicheſter. CHAP. XX. Anno 1550.

I will here crave the reader's leave to infert two or three words concerning Bifhop Day; thereby to judge the better of him.

Day writes to King's college for leaving off maſſes.

About the year 1547, faying of maſſes was laid afide in King's college in Cambridge, the members of which college generally favoured the Gofpel. Day, the Provoft thereof, (which place he held *in commendam* with his bifhopriek,) hearing of this, wrote an angry letter to the Vice-Provoft, and in him to the whole college, for divers things which they had done relating to reformation; and particularly for leaving off faying maſſes. In which, he faid, "They de- "parted from the inſtitution of the houſe, and that they did "it raſhly, and befides the law: there being as yet no law "for fo doing. He charged them with the breach of ſta- "tute; and fo would involve them in the fin of perjury. "And whereas in their public diſputations they gave queſ- "tions againſt popiſh doctrines, he charged them with diſ- "puting wickedly and turbulently, to the wounding of "tender conſciences, and the infamy of the houſe. And "finally, required that things ſhould be put in the ſame poſ- "ture they were before." To which the college, by Dr. Haddon's elegant pen, wrot an anſwer: "That as to their "aboliſhing maſſes, they ſaid, they were private maſſes; "and the ſtatutes of the college did ſeem to enjoin only "maſſes, wherein was a communion of the body and blood "of Chriſt. That that was not perjury, when, by the com- "mon conſent of the college, ſome minuter matters of the "ſtatutes were changed. That had he himſelf been there, Haddoni Ep. p. 169.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

" he would have done as they did, conſidering the reports " that came from the court, brought by witneſſes worthy of " credit. And that as for their diſputations they urged, " that it was free for them to diſpute matters controverted, " for better inquiry into the truth: and that it was done " with lenity, without any perverſeneſs of ſpeech."

His unnatural carriage towards his brother.

He had a younger brother named William, (who was above forty years after Biſhop of Winton.) This man was a ſcholar of the college while his brother was Provoſt and Biſhop: to whom he ſent once a requeſt, to ſupply him with a little money to buy him ſome books and other neceſſaries he ſtood in need of at that time. His brother anſwered him, knowing him to be well affected to the Goſpel, " That for his part he held it not fit to relieve thoſe that " were not of the true church, and therefore he would not " in any wiſe relieve him." Thus had his religion deſtroyed in him the very principles of nature.

232

Hatcher's MS. Catal. of Provoſts, &c. of King's Coll.

Preaches againſt tranſubſtantiation.

This Biſhop had been a vehement aſſerter of tranſubſtantiation: yet in April 1550, he preached againſt it at Weſtminſter; which King Edward thought fit to take notice of in his Journal: and he complied, and went along with all the ſteps of the reformation till the declining of this year 1550; when the matter of taking down altars was ſet on foot. For then it ſeems either there was a proſpect that the reformation, carrying on, would have a ſtop, or it was ſecretly agreed, among the popiſhly affected, now to fall off.

His change charged on him.

In Queen Mary's days he was a mighty buſy man, and one of the commiſſioners for the examination and condemning to death the profeſſors of religion. When in conference with Bradford, that holy man had charged him for departing from the reformed church, as it was in King Edward's days; he told him, " That he was but a young man, (and " yet in the firſt year of that King he was five or ſix and " forty years of age;) and that, coming from the univerſity, " he went with the world: but it was always againſt his conſcience." He could, it ſeems, diſpenſe with his conſcience upon occaſion: and yet what a man of conſcience was he when altars were to be pulled down! He ſat a commiſſioner upon Hoper, together with Wincheſter, London, Durham, and Landaff: and however gently he had been

used in his trouble, that was forgot; and he treated that reverend man most rudely, undecently falling upon him with foul words, and with a scornful countenance calling him *Hypocrite*. CHAP. XX. Anno 1550.

CHAP. XXI.

Papists grow bold. Loose Professors restrained.

THUS indeed, when the Papists found they could not prevail by outward force, which they had tried to the utmost the last year, they now used other arts. One among the rest was to libel the government, and disperse scurrilous rhymes and ballads upon the preachers. One of these was this year fastened upon the pulpit of some eminent church; probably of St. Paul's: which nevertheless soon had an answer to it. And not long after a more witty ballad was put abroad, glancing, as it seems, at the Archbishop, upon occasion of the liberty of reading the Bible, and of the English service, and the publishing the Homily-book, and other good books: whipping the government under the person of one John No-body, because that, notwithstanding all these religious pretences, there was so much sin, lechery, adultery, bribery, and want of charity. A taste of this their poetry I have put into the Appendix: because some probably may be so curious as to peruse the fancy of that age. The Papists write libels. 233 No. XLIX.

The Papists were at this juncture very bold, whether it were that they had taken up a conceit that the old religion would be again restored upon the disgrace of the Duke of Somerset, or upon some other reasons. To stay these men, the council, as they had proceeded before against some popish bishops, so they thought fit to use some rigours towards others, noted to be the forwardest men. One of these was Dr. Chedsey, who was one of the disputants against Peter Martyr, the King's professor. He took now upon him to preach openly at Oxford against the steps of the reformation that were made, and making. Wherefore, March 16, he was committed to the Marshalsea for seditious preaching: Several Papists now taken up. Council-book. Chedsey.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

where he lay till November the 11th, 1551: and then he was ordered to be brought to the Bishop of Ely's, where he enjoyed his table, and an easier restraint. March 19, Serjeant Morgan was committed to the Fleet for hearing mass in the Lady Mary's chapel. March 22, Sir Anthony Brown was committed to the Fleet for the same offence. And three days after, *viz.* March 25, Mr. White, Warden of Winchester, appeared before the council, and confessed that he had divers books and letters from beyond sea, and namely, from one Martyn, a scholar there, who opposed the King's Majesty's proceedings utterly. And it being manifest that he had consented to things of that sort in such wise, that greater practices were thought to be in him that ways, he was committed to the Tower: where lying for some months, he shewed better conformity in matters of religion. So that in June 14, 1551, the council wrote a letter to the Archbishop, that he should send to the Lieutenant of the Tower for Mr. White to be brought to him, and with him to remain, till such time as he should reclaim him. Which being done, he was to be sent back again to the Tower, until the King's Majesty's further pleasure upon his Lordship's certificate of his proceedings with him. This White, however he complied now, was in Queen Mary's reign made Bishop successively of Lincoln and Winchester, and preached that Queen's funeral sermon: and was deprived by the next Queen for refusing conformity to the religion then established.

Morgan.

Brown.

White.

Other professors restrained.

And while the Papists on one hand were so busy in promoting their ends, there were a looser sort of professors of religion disgraced the reformation on the other. For some there were that took the liberty of meeting together in certain places, and there to propound odd questions, and vent dangerous doctrines and opinions. Of these also the council having notice, they thought it very fit to discountenance and restrain them. January 27, a number of persons, a sort of Anabaptists, about sixty, met in a house on a Sunday, in the parish of Bocking in Essex; where arose among them a great dispute, "Whether it were necessary to stand or "kneel, bare-head or covered, at prayers? and they con-"cluded the ceremony not to be material; but that the "heart before God was required, and nothing else." Such

other-like warm disputes there were about Scripture. There were likewise such assemblies now in Kent. These were looked upon as dangerous to church and state: and two of the company were therefore taken and committed to the Marshalsea; and orders were sent to apprehend the rest, *viz.* to Sir George Norton, Sheriff of Essex, to apprehend and send up to the council those persons that were assembled for Scripture-matters in Bocking: nine of them were named, being cowherds, clothiers, and such-like mean people. The like order was sent to Sir Edward Wotton, and to Sir Thomas Wyat, to apprehend others of them, seven whereof are named, living in Kent. February 3, those that were apprehended for the meeting at Bocking appeared before the council, and confessed the cause of their assembly to be, "For to talk of the Scriptures; that they had refused the "communion for above two years, and that, as was judged, "upon very superstitious and erroneous purposes: with di-"vers other evil opinions, worthy of great punishment." Whereupon five of them were committed: and seven of them were bound in recognizance to the King in forty pound each man. The condition, to appear when they should be called upon, and to resort to their ordinaries for resolution of their opinions, in case they had any doubt in religion. CHAP. XXI. Anno 1550. 234

1824049

CHAP. XXII.

Foreigners allowed churches. A Lasco.

The Archbishop's care of the souls of strangers residing here.

WE shall now shew a remarkable instance of the Archbishop's episcopal piety, in the care he took of the souls of foreigners, as well as of the native English. For in King Edward's reign there were great numbers of strangers in the realm; French, Dutch, Italians, Spaniards, who abode here upon divers occasions: some for trade and commerce, and some, no doubt, to be secret spies, and promoters of the Pope's affairs, and to hinder the propagation of the religion: but the most were such as fled over hither to escape

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

the perfecutions that were in thofe times very violently fet on foot in their refpective countries, and to enjoy the liberty of their conficiences, and the free profeffion of their religion. Our Prelate had a chief hand in forming thefe ftrangers into diftinct congregations for the worfhip of God, and in procuring them convenient churches to meet in, and fetting preachers of their own over them, to inftruct them in the true religion: Cecyl and Cheke joining with him in this pious defign, and furthering it at court with the King and Duke of Somerfet. And this they did both out of chriftian charity, and chriftian policy too: this being a probable means to difperfe the reformed religion into foreign parts: that when any of thefe ftrangers, or their children, fhould return into their own country, they might carry the tincture of religion along with them, and fow the feeds of it in the hearts of their countrymen.

The Dutch congregation begun under John a Lafco.

This year the German or Dutch congregation began under Johannes a Lafco, a nobleman of Poland, ftyled their Superintendent: and this by the favour and influence of our Archbifhop, who had entertained him in his family with refpect due to his quality and great piety. This perfon had forfaken his country and honours for the fake of the Gofpel, and became a preacher to a proteftant congregation at Embden in Eaft Friezland. But feeing all things look black and ftormy round about him, and tending to a perfecution, he took an opportunity to embark for England: where, being a perfon not only of honour, but of great learning and piety, and withal an exile for the fake of Chrift, and voluntarily taking up the miniftry out of zeal to promote the Gofpel, he met with a very honourable and friendly reception; and foon became acquainted with many eminent perfons here: as with Dr. Turner, the Duke of Somerfet's phyfician, and Dean of Wells; Sir John Cheke, Sir William Cecyl, and our Archbifhop; and, by their means, with the Duke of Somerfet himfelf. His chief bufinefs here feemed to be, to make fome provifion for himfelf and his congregation, in cafe of perfecution. For this purpofe he got a conference with the faid Duke, a way, as it feems, being made thereunto by the Archbifhop: requefting that he and his congregation might have leave to tranfplant themfelves to Lon-

235

The occafion of his coming into England.

His bufinefs here.

don, that they might have a church here, and certain privileges likewise: moving the Protector thereunto by arguments as well taken from charity as policy, namely, that hereby a trade and gainful manufacture would be introduced into England. He desired therefore that they might be incorporated by the King's letters patents, and that some old dissolved church or monastery might be granted to them, to worship and serve God in. When he had done this, he desired a certain Italian friend of his to acquaint Cecyl with the sum of his discourse with the Protector: and so, taking an opportunity on a sudden of passing again to Embden along with some ambassador, that was going into those parts, he took his leave of England; leaving the Archbishop and Cecyl to second his business with the Duke as occasion should serve. Being at Yarmouth, before his going aboard, he wrote to Cecyl his full mind, in case he and his congregation should be driven away. He desired him, "that if he "should understand any thing concerning his call into Eng- "land, or would be informed by him of any other matters, "that he would convey his letters unto one Robert Legat, "an Englishman, living at Embden, who would communi- "cate them unto him." CHAP. XXII. Anno 1550.

From Embden he wrote to the Archbishop; and to Cecyl.

Being arrived at Embden, he writ to the Archbishop, relating all passages that he knew concerning the state of affairs, and particularly of religion in those parts: desiring him to impart them to the Protector. He writ also unto Cecyl, his letter bearing date in April 1549, referring him to the Protector's letters: and withal acquainting him in what a ticklish and dangerous condition they were. "That they "certainly expected the cross: that they did mutually ex- "hort one another to bear it, with invocation upon God's "holy name; that by patience and faith they might over- "come all whatsoever God should permit to be done against "them, to the glory of his name, or for their trial. They "were sure he had a care of them, and that he was so "powerful, that he could in a moment, by a word of his "mouth, dash in pieces all the forces of their enemies, "whatsoever they were. And that he was so good, that he "would not suffer so much as an hair, without cause, to fall "from their head, although the whole world should make

The sad condition of the Protestants there.

236

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

"an aſſault upon them. And that he could no more wiſh "them harm, than a mother could her own infant, or any "one the apple of his own eye; yea, no more than he him- "ſelf could not be God. Who was to be praiſed in all "things whatſoever happened to them, ſince he permitted "nothing to fall out to them, but for their good; and ſo, "for their welfare. And that therefore they committed "themſelves wholly to him, and did expect with all tolera- "tion whatſoever he ſhould allow to be done to them." In this pious manner did A Laſco write to Cecyl; and no doubt in the ſame tenour to the Archbiſhop. This made a very great impreſſion upon the godly hearts of them both, and cauſed them vigorouſly to uſe their intereſt with the Protector to provide a ſafe retreat for him and his congregation: which was obtained for them ſoon after. His whole letter, in a handſome Latin ſtyle, as ſome memorial of him, I have repoſited in the Appendix.

Num. L.

Latimer mentions A Laſco to the King.

Latimer alſo made way for his reception: who, in one of his ſermons before King Edward, made honourable mention of him; uſing an argument proper for that audience, namely, how much it would tend to the bringing down God's bleſſing on the realm, to receive him, and ſuch pious exiles as he. "John a Laſco was here a great learned man, and, as "they ſay, a nobleman in his country; and is gone his way "again. If it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity. "I could wiſh ſuch men as he to be in the realm: for the "realm ſhould proſper in receiving them. *He that receiveth "you, receiveth me*, ſaid Chriſt. And it ſhould be for the "King's honour to receive them, and keep them."

Third ſermon before the King, anno 1549.

It was but a little after the King had received this congregation of foreigners into England, and had granted them a church, *viz.* St. Auguſtin's, but great conteſt happened among them about their church, yielded them for their religious worſhip. This P. Martyr took notice of with grief to Bucer: and addeth, "that their minds were ſo impla- "cable to one another, that the difference was fain to be "referred to the privy-council to make an end of." But not to leave our Superintendent yet.

Conteſt amongſt A Laſco's people. MSS. of Benet College.

The care of A Laſco over his

A Laſco with his ſtrangers being ſettled at London, and incorporated by the King's patents, being their chief paſtor,

and a ſtirring man, was very induſtrious to procure and maintain the liberties and benefits of his church. The members thereof had planted themſelves chiefly in St. Katharine's, and in great and little Southwark. Here they were now and then called upon by the church-wardens of their reſpective pariſhes to reſort to their pariſh churches: though the miniſters themſelves did not appear in it. In the month of November, anno 1552, ſome of theſe ſtrangers, inhabiting the parts of Southwark, were again troubled by their church-wardens, and threatened with impriſonment, unleſs they would come to church. Whereupon their ſuperintendent A Laſco applied himſelf to the Lord Chancellor, who then was Goodrich, Biſhop of Ely. 237 By the way one might inquire, why he reſorted not rather to his friend and patron the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But the reaſon may ſoon be gueſſed: namely, that after the fall of Somerſet, the Archbiſhop's good friend, he came not ſo often to court, or tranſacted buſineſs there, unleſs ſent for: knowing his intereſt likewiſe to be but little with the Duke of Northumberland, who now bare all the ſway, and who had a jealous eye of him, as he had of all Somerſet's friends. And ſo the Archbiſhop might have rather hindered than forwarded A Laſco's buſineſs, if he had appeared in it. But this *en paſſant*. The Chancellor gently received A Laſco, and, diſmiſſing him, ſent him to Secretary Cecyl with this meſſage, to get him to propound the buſineſs the next day in the afternoon at the council-board, when himſelf ſhould be there: promiſing him likewiſe, that he would be aſſiſtant to him in procuring him a warrant in writing to be directed to all miniſters and church-wardens of the pariſhes of Southwark and St. Katharine's, that for the time to come the ſtrangers of this congregation ſhould receive no moleſtation in that regard any more. Accordingly A Laſco the next morning ſent one of the elders of his church to Cecyl with his letter, excuſing himſelf that he came not, being grievouſly afflicted with a pain in his head. Therein he acquainted him with the ſum of his conference with the Lord Chancellor: adding, that the obtaining ſuch a warrant would be neceſſary for them to produce and ſhew to ſuch as at that preſent did annoy them, and to be hereafter kept by

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1552.

church, and its privileges.

Favourably received by the Lord Chancellor Goodrich.

Labours with the Secretary to procure letters from the council in behalf of his church.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

the church; that they might not be forced at other times, upon the like occaſions, to create new trouble to the King's council, or himſelf, in ſuing for new warrants of that nature. Meaning hereby to put the Secretary upon drawing this up the more formally and ſubſtantially. And ſo, entreating him to hear what the elder had to ſay, and to diſpatch him, he took his leave. This letter alſo is inſerted in the Appendix.

Num. LI.

The extent of his ſuperintendency.

The ſuperintendency of A Laſco ſeemed to extend not only to this particular congregation of Germans, but over all the other churches of foreigners ſet up in London, as alſo over their ſchools of learning and education. They were all ſubject to his inſpection, and within his juriſdiction.

Melanchthon's Epiſtles, printed at Leyden, 1647.

And Melanchthon, in an epiſtle to him in the month of September, 1551, ſpeaks of the purity of doctrine "in his "churches." His condition now, as to worldly circumſtances, began to be ſo good, that he was able to relieve and ſuccour ſuch learned foreigners as ſhould retire hither. For when one Nicolas Forſt, a learned and grave man, who had lived long in the univerſity of Lovain, and had ſpent ſome time with Melanchthon, was minded, for the ſake of religion, to convey himſelf into England; he recommended him earneſtly to the Superintendent, as a perſon fit to teach in his churches and ſchools: and that he would friendly entertain him as an exile for the ſame cauſe himſelf was, and find him ſome little neſt to remain in. Nay, and the ſaid Melanchthon himſelf had ſome thoughts of ſheltering himſelf under A Laſco here, as appears by the forementioned letter, wherein he ſtyles him his Patron. For the ſuperſcription of his letter is thus, *Illuſtri, Magnifico, ac Reverendo Viro, Nobilitate generis, Virtute et Sapientia præſtanti Dn. Johanni a Laſco, Patrono ſuo colendo.* So much of deference and honour did learned and pious men then uſe to give him. In this letter Melanchthon told him, that the calamities of the churches were great, and that he himſelf expected baniſhment, and might probably in a ſhort time arrive where he was. And in reſpect of his hoſpitable reception of ſtrangers, he told him, that he believed he did often remember that ſaying of the exiled Queen,

Melanchthon thought to ſhelter himſelf under him.

238

Non ignara mali, miſeris ſuccurrere diſco.

CHAP. XXII.

Nor was A Lasco any ways unfurnished for this spiritual government, being a man of good learning, and of great piety, strictness, and gravity from his younger age: and of whom the great Erasmus himself acknowledged that he learned much. For in his epistle to Johannes a Lasco, the Archbishop of Gnesne, who was nametake and uncle to our Superintendent, he speaks thus of his nephew; "That he "was but young, yet grave beyond his years; and that he "himself accounted it none of the least parts of his happi- "ness, that he happened to have his converse and society for "some months:" praising the endowments that God had given him; and particularly, concerning the benefits he received by him, he could not but confess, *Senex juvenis convictu factus sum melior, ac sobrietatem, temperantiam, verecundiam, linguæ moderationem, modestiam, pudicitiam, integritatem, quam juvenis a sene discere debuerat, a juvene senex didici.* "That by the conversation of that young man, he, "an old man, became better: and that sobriety, temperance, "awfulness, government of the tongue, modesty, chastity, "integrity, which the young ought to learn of the old, he, "an old man, had learned of a young." This he wrote in August 1527, soon after A Lasco was gone from him. And in June the same year, while he resided with him, in another letter to Leonard Cox, a learned Englishman, he signified the great complacency he took in his company. *Johannis a Lasco tale sum expertus ingenium, ut vel hoc uno amico mihi videar satis beatus.* "That he had found A Lasco's "parts to be such, that he seemed happy enough in his "single friendship."

Anno 1526.

His great abilities for government.

Erasmus's praise of him.

Ep. 3. Lib. 28.

Lib. 19 Ep. 15.

And this good understanding continued between them as long as Erasmus lived. For A Lasco seems to have been with him in his last sickness; when, as the last token of Erasmus's esteem of him, he made a purchase to him of his own library, (that incomparable treasure,) if we may believe the author of his life in English.

Purchased Erasmus's library.

Abel Redivv.

A Lasco thought not the clergy obliged to celibacy, or single life: for he himself was a married man. Who his wife was, I know not; but as for her qualities, she was in all probability a pious and discreet woman, whereby she gained a great share in his affections. He styled her "the

A Lasco a married man.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

"other part of himſelf." But in Auguſt 1552, God deprived him of her. Which ſtroke put him for ſome time under much ſadneſs and indiſpoſition both of mind and body, as appears by one of his letters.

His influence in the reformation under Queen Elizabeth.

He was alive at the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth to the Engliſh throne: and though he came not back then to England again, whence he departed upon King Edward's death, yet, according to that great intereſt he had here with the moſt eminent perſons, and even the Queen herſelf, he neglected not by his letters to promote the reformation, and to give his grave counſel in order thereunto. And Zanchy, public profeſſor at Stratſburgh, knowing the ſway he bare here, in a letter to him in the year 1558, or 59, excited him in theſe words; *Non dubito, quin T. P. jamdudum ſcripſerit ad reginam, eique conſuluerit, quæ pro illius regni conſervatione, et regni Chriſti inſtauratione facienda judicarit, &c.* "That he doubted not "he had before now written to the Queen, and given her "his advice, what he judged fit to be done for the pre"ſervation of her kingdom, and for the reſtoring of the "kingdom of Chriſt. Yet he would not omit to pray him "to do it again and again by his repeated letters. For "I know," ſaid he, "how great your authority is with the "Engliſh, and with the Queen herſelf. Now certainly is "the time that you, and ſuch as you be, ſhould by your "counſels help ſo pious a Queen, and conſult for the "ſafety of ſo great a kingdom, yea, and ſuccour the "whole chriſtian church, every where afflicted and vexed. "For we know that if Chriſt's kingdom be happily intro"duced into the kingdom of England, no ſmall aid will "thence come to all the other churches diſperſed through "Germany, Poland, and other countries."

239

Blamed for meddling in our controverſies.

There is one thing that is wont to be urged againſt him, and which makes him to this day to be ſomewhat ill thought of; which was, that he oppoſed himſelf ſo openly, by writing againſt the habits preſcribed the clergy, and the poſture of kneeling at the reception of the holy ſacrament: whereby he incurred the cenſure of a meddling temper, and of ingratitude to that nation that ſo kindly had entertained him. Concerning the habits, Bucer and he

had ſome controverſy. The ſum of which, on both parts, Archbiſhop Parker drew up (upon the deſire, I ſuppoſe, of Sir William Cecyl) about the year 1565, when that controverſy was hotly renewed again by Humfrey and Sampſon. This ſum whoſoever is minded to ſee, may probably hereafter find it in the memorials of that Archbiſhop, if God grant life and opportunity to me to write them. CHAP. XXII. Anno 1550.

About this time, *viz.* in the year 1550, or 1551, there was alſo a church of Italians conſtituted in London, by the influence and care of our Archbiſhop and Sir William Cecyl, under A Laſco's ſuperintendency. This church conſiſted of divers Italian nations, as Florentines, Genoezes, Milanois, Venetians, and others: though ſeveral of them joined themſelves with this congregation more out of worldly ends than conſcience, as will appear afterward. For they had a kindneſs for the maſs, and could not endure to hear the Pope's ſupremacy called in queſtion, and inveighed againſt. One Michael Angelo Florio, a Florentine by birth, was appointed their preacher; probably brother, or kinſman, unto Simon Florio, preacher at the city of Clavenna among the Rhætii, an eminent profeſſor of the Goſpel in thoſe parts: who wrote a letter to Gratalorius, an Italian phyſician, concerning two whole towns in Calabria, utterly deſtroyed by reaſon of the rigor of perſecution exerciſed there: and about eight hundred or a thouſand of the inhabitants put to death, becauſe they profeſſed the Goſpel. Which letter is extant in Fox, in his table of the Italian martyrs. A church of Italians conſtituted in London. Michael Angelo their minister. 240

For the encouragement of this congregation, the Archbiſhop procured the members of it to be free denizens, to live and traffic here with as much freedom as natural Engliſh ſubjects: which they were admitted to by ſwearing fidelity and allegiance. For their more eaſy and convenient dwelling here, they often petitioned the King for new privileges and immunities, as they ſaw they needed them: and ſuch favour and countenance was ſhewn them, that they ſeldom failed of their ſuits. The Archbiſhop alſo, that their preacher might be provided for, dealt with the congregation, and made them oblige themſelves to provide him with all neceſſaries; as a dwelling, and a The ſervice the Archbiſhop did for this church; and for the [illegible].

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

competent yearly ſalary. In the year 1552, Michael Angelo ſued again to our Archbiſhop for ſome favour to be obtained from the King; whether it were for the better eſtabliſhment of his church, or for ſome further immunities to be granted to the members thereof, it doth not appear. But this the moſt reverend man readily furthered, by writing in that behalf to the Duke of Northumberland from his houſe at Ford, near Canterbury, the Duke being, I ſuppoſe, with the King in progreſs at this time. He likewiſe diſpatched another, dated November 20, the year abovefaid, to the Secretary, entreating him to forward that cauſe as much as lay in him.

Divers of this church fall out with their miniſter, and go to maſs again.

But however ſerviceable this their miniſter had been unto theſe Italians, in preaching the Goſpel to them, and ſoliciting the Archbiſhop for their benefit; yet many of them carried themſelves but little obliging to him. Whether it were ſome miſbehaviour or imprudences in him, which he was not altogether void of, or his too violent declaiming againſt the Pope and popiſh doctrines, which they were not yet enough ripened in evangelical knowledge to receive, or that he too roughly charged them with the hardneſs of their hearts, and backwardneſs to receive Goſpel-truths, as he did uſe to do: but many of them wholly withdrew from him, and went to maſs again. His contribution alſo fell very low, not having received above five pounds in a conſiderable time from them. Hereupon he reſorted to the Secretary, "making heavy complaints "of his own poverty, that many of his people had forſaken "his aſſembly, ſpake very ſlanderouſly againſt him and "his miniſtry, and the Goſpel which he preached, after "they ſaw and heard him in an open manner preaching "againſt the Pope's doctrines, his tyranny and hypocriſy, "and reproving them for their unbelief, and the hardneſs "of their hearts." The too much vehemency and paſſion of this man, and his neglect of informing the judgments of theſe Italians in milder and more leiſurely methods, I ſuſpect to have been a great cauſe of this apoſtaſy.

A conjecture at the cauſe thereof.

Their miniſter ſends their name to the ſecretary, and accuſes them.

But, upon this complaint, the Secretary bade the paſtor ſend him a liſt of the names of thoſe that had thus behaved themſelves, and that he himſelf would call them

before him, and discourse with them. Accordingly he sent the names of fourteen in a letter to the said Secretary, withal aggravating to him their misbehaviour, and informing of their daily going to mass: and adding, that therefore they, being free denizens, and so subjects to the English laws, ought to be punished as any Englishman would be, if he heard mass. He quoted a place or two in Deuteronomy, where those that rebelled against God, the laws, and the judges, should be slain without mercy. He subjoined, that Elisha, by God's command, anointed Jehu to be King for this very purpose, that he should wholly root out the house of Ahab, and kill all the priests of Baal: and thence makes his uncharitable conclusion, (more agreeable to the religion that he was so hot against,) that therefore these Italians should be so served, since they opposed the Gospel, and the King's pious proceedings. But it might make one apt not to think over-favourably of this man; a pastor, thus to turn accuser of his flock; a professor of the reformed religion to require the utmost rigor of punishment for differing in religion.

CHAP. XXII. Anno 1550.

241

I also find the morals of this man tainted, having once made a very foul slip, being guilty of an act of uncleanness: for which Sir William Cecyl, Secretary of State, who had been his good friend, was exceedingly displeased with him, and withdrew all favour and countenance from him, calling him *wicked man*, and intending to inflict some severe punishment upon him; which seemed to be banishment out of the nation, or at least turning him out of his family, where he seems to have been entertained. Angelo wrote him a very penitent letter, minding him of the frailty of human nature, and of the mercy of God to Moses, Aaron, David, Jonas, Peter, after their falls: and that if he were forced to depart the kingdom, he must either be compelled to renounce the truth of the Gospel, or have his blood shed by the enemies thereof. This was, as I suppose, in the year 1551. In fine, he got over this brunt, and recovered mild Cecyl's favour: for I find, a year after, our Archbishop wrote to him to further a certain business of Michael Angelo at court, as much as he could.

The morals of this man tainted.

Writes a penitent letter to the Secretary.

This is all I have to say of that Italian congregation, and

BOOK II. Anno 1550. Num. LII. LIII.

the minister thereof. For further memory of which, I have added in the Appendix two letters of this Michael Angelo to Secretary Cecyl, whence many of the matters, next above mentioned, were collected.

A French church also in London.

As there was thus a German and Italian church in London, so also there was a third of Frenchmen, under A Lasco's superintendency. One member of which, a very honest man, and of sound religion, by the general testimony of that church, had desired to set up a printing-house for his livelihood, chiefly for printing the Liturgy, and other books of the church of England, in French, for the use of the French islands under the English subjection. In whose behalf the Superintendent readily interceded by a letter with the Secretary to procure the King's letters patents, for his licence and authority so to do. The issue of which will be seen in the progress of this history. The letter I have transcribed to accompany two others of A Lasco in the Appendix.

No. LIV.

242

CHAP. XXIII.

The Church at Glastenbury.

Another church of strangers at Glastenbury.

IN the same year, *viz.* 1550, another church of strangers, and they mostwhat French and Walloons, began to settle at Glastenbury in Somersetshire. They were weavers,

Their trade weaving.

and followed the manufacture of kersies, and cloth of that nature, as I conjecture. Their great patrons were the Duke of Somerset and Sir William Cecyl; I add, and our Archbishop, though I do not find his name mentioned in the papers I make use of, relating to this church: for there is no question but that his counsel and aid concurred in the settlement of this church, as well as those in London: and particularly as to the preacher; whom I suspect to have been one of those learned foreign divines whom he harboured in his own house. His name was Valerandus Pollanus, a man of great worth both for learning and integrity, who had the title of Superintendent of the strangers'

Valerandus Pollanus their preacher and superintendent.

church at Glaſtenbury, as John a Laſco had of that at London; given to each to fix a character of honour and eſteem upon their perſons, and perhaps to exempt them and their churches from the juriſdiction of the biſhops of thoſe reſpective dioceſes. This Pollanus turned into Latin, and printed, the diſputations held in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign between the Proteſtants and Papiſts at the convocation, anno 1553. If any deſire to know the particular ſtate and condition of the eſtabliſhment of theſe ſtrangers, as to their trade, it ſtood thus. CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1550.

How they came to his here.

Pollanus, in behalf of the reſt, had preferred a petition to the Duke of Somerſet, and the reſt of the lords of the council, to this effect; "That they might be permitted to "form themſelves into a church for the free exerciſe of "religion, and to follow peaceably their calling of weaving; "declaring, as an argument to perſuade them to allow "the ſame, the conſiderable benefit that would accrue "thence to the realm: and that for ſhops and working-"houſes, and for reception of them and their families, "they might enjoy ſome old diſſolved religious houſe." Their petition was condeſcended to: and the Duke, being a great cheriſher of thoſe of the religion, reſolved to be their patron, and to take the managing of this whole cauſe upon himſelf. The Duke, in the month of June this year, had made an exchange of certain lands with the King, and that probably for the better accommodating of theſe ſtrangers. He had parted with the caſtle and lordſhip of Sleford, and other lands and tenements in the county of Lincoln, to the King: and the King had granted him, in lieu thereof, all and ſingular his meſſuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with their appurtenances, in the town of Glaſtenbury, (namely, what had belonged to the abbey,) and other lands and tenements in Kingſton upon Hull, to the value of 214l. 14s. 5d. obq. as I find in a manuſcript book, mentioning the ſeveral ſales that King made. Having obtained ſuch conveniences in Glaſtenbury, he reſolved to plant this manufacture here; which he thought would tend ſo much to the benefit of the country, 2·43 himſelf, and theſe poor ſtrangers too. Conditions were mutually entered into.

BOOK II.

Anno 1550.

Conditions of trade between Somerset and them.

The conditions on Somerset's part were, "That he should "provide them houses convenient for their occupations, "and to contain themselves and families: that five acres of "pasture land, or as much as would serve for the feeding of "two cows throughout the year, should be allotted to each "of them: and until land were so allotted, they should "enjoy the park in common for the said use, with some "part also of the gardens. They were also to be supplied "with monies from the Duke to buy wool, and defray "other charges necessary to set them on work. They were "also empowered to employ both English men and women, "as they should have occasion, in spinning, and other "works belonging to their trade." And so accordingly they went down to Glastenbury, and fell to work.

Their trade obstructed by the troubles of Somerset.

But upon the troubles and fall of Somerset, which happened about fourteen or fifteen months after, their affairs were much obstructed. His servants neglected to furnish them with money according to contract: nor was he at leisure now to regard them. The people, among whom they lived, took this opportunity to express what little kindness they had for them: it being the temper of the common sort to be jealous of strangers, and rude to them. So that they were not without their discontents and discouragements: for they wanted those conveniences of room for work-houses and habitations, that were promised them. They ran in debt, and were forced to lay to pawn the clothes they had wove, to supply their wants. Cornish, one of the chief of their procurators, appointed to oversee them, and further their trade, proved very deceitful and false to them; who came to them, pretending letters from the council, and treating them at first with fair words, and after with threatenings: and so compelled them to deliver the clothes that they had made to him, though they had by mere necessity been forced before to pawn them. He had also, by his importunity and fraud, got the grant of the park from them, though he knew the Duke had fully purposed and intended it for their use, for the necessary maintenance of themselves and families.

Apply themselves again to the council,

Things being in this ill condition with them, and Somerset no longer able to befriend them, they were glad to apply

CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1559.

again to thoſe above. Pollanus therefore, in their behalf, petitioned the lords of the council to take their declining ſtate into their conſideration, and to carry on that good work the Duke of Somerſet had begun. He did alſo ply the Secretary to further their petition, (who was indeed of his own accord their moſt hearty friend;) and laboured particularly with all earneſtneſs imaginable, both by word of mouth, and by divers letters, to get the factory diſcharged of Corniſh, urging that the weavers had never found the leaſt grain of integrity, juſtice, or candour in him. This man was now very induſtrious and buſy at court to get himſelf continued in his office: which the ſtrangers underſtanding, were as diligent to get themſelves delivered of him. The Superintendent had but a little before diſpatched to the Secretary one Peter Wolf, a good man, and a great ſufferer, a Brabanter by nation, to relate the evil deeds of this man: and now again he diſpatched Stephen Le Provoſt, a deacon of his church, with another meſſage to the ſame import to the ſaid Secretary. Telling him, "That thoſe who were to "be ſet over others ought themſelves in the firſt place to "be honeſt and juſt; but eſpecially they ought to be ſo in "the higheſt degree that were to be placed over ſuch good "men, and who were exiles only for the ſake of Chriſt; "unleſs any could be willing that ſuch upright men ſhould "be undone, and that thoſe very conſiderable advantages "that were likely to accrue to the commonwealth by them, "ſhould be diverted to ſome other place or country. That "they could not enough wonder with what forehead this "man ſhould attempt this thing, after he had ſo plainly be-"trayed his baſe treachery and ill-will towards them: and "could not but know, how very hardly they could away "with him, and who were going to ſue to the Duke for "that which they now deſired. That himſelf was ſolicited "by the prayers of thoſe good men to write this to him, "that he would be their advocate with the lords in this be-"half."

And to the Secretary Cecyl.

2-4-1

The reſult was, that the lords conſented to uphold and encourage them: and ſent down their letters to the overſeers of this manufacture, and to the chief officers of the town, Powis, one of the King's ſervants, and Hyet, the chief

The council become their patrons, and aſſiſt them.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

magiſtrate, and others, to examine into the preſent ſtate of theſe ſtrangers, and to give them in writing an account thereof. Theſe letters the Superintendent delivered to them; and one Clark, a juſtice of peace, was then preſent: who being a gentleman and a ſcholar, that underſtood both French and Latin, did, out of his good-will to them, interpret to the reſt Pollanus's petition to the lords of the council, and the contents of their contract with the Duke of Somerſet, and other matters relating to this buſineſs; that ſo they might be the better acquainted with their affairs, and it might appear there were no neglects or breaches of covenants on the ſtrangers' parts. And ſo letters were diſpatched back to the lords from the overſeers, ſignifying how they had examined the affairs of theſe ſtrangers, and had found all things fair and juſt on their ſide; mentioning likewiſe what conſiderable commodity they hoped for by them: and likewiſe from the chief of the town to the ſame import.

Orders from the lords to ſet this manufacture forwards.

Speedily upon this, orders came down from the lords to certain gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, whereof one Dyer was one, a perſon of good religion, and their cordial friend, commiſſionating them to ſet this manufacture forward, and to take care the undertakers might be relieved in what they needed, according to their former contract with the Duke. So they obtained the uſe of the park for the running of threeſcore head of kine, till other paſture were provided them. Thirty houſes were ordered to be forthwith repaired and fitted up for them: and money was paid ſufficient for the clearing them of their debts. Theſe gentlemen had alſo aſſigned them a ſtated proviſion of money for the future, but it was too ſcanty; the allowance that they had proportioned them for two months would ſcarcely hold out for five weeks. Nor was any wool at all bought for their uſe, though their ſtock was almoſt at an end; and then their work muſt ſtand ſtill for want thereof, having no money themſelves to purchaſe more: and to take it up upon credit would enhance the price thereof. For one Crowch had demanded of them thirty-two ſhillings for wool, when they could buy it of their neighbours for four and twenty, had they money. Their only hope was in Dyer, who promiſed them wool at a far more reaſonable rate, and

245

kindly offered them a long day of payment for it, without consideration for forbearance: their doubt only was, whether his wool was proper for their use. But the interest of Cornish was such, that he was continued by the lords in his office over these tradesmen, and enjoyed a part of the park to himself. These things were transacted in the month of November, anno 1551, which was the month after the Duke's commitment. CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1550.

In all this affair Pollanus was very much employed, taking a great deal of pains in settling this trade: for he took many journeys between Glastenbury and the court, and was, as himself wrote, at incredible expences: and in fifteen months space received not an halfpenny, though he had a large family to maintain. The office also of surveying the reparation of the houses lay upon him: and, fearing the lords of the council might be displeased at the greatness of the charge they had been at already in the repairs, and the little profit that as yet arose to quit the cost, he entreated the Secretary that he would bear up their reputation with the lords; telling him, "That he doubted not that the project would hereafter redound much to their own praise, "by reason of the very great emolument that all men "should perceive would come to the realm thereby within "three years, God prospering them, as he had begun to do. "And for himself, all he desired was, that for all his charge "and trouble he might obtain a stipend of fifty pounds "to be settled upon him." The letters of Valerandus Pollanus, being three in number, I have inserted in the Appendix. Pollanus very serviceable to them. No. LV. LVI. LVII.

I acknowledge, that many of these things I have related concerning this business, may seem too little and minute for an historian to take notice of. But I was loth any particulars of so remarkable a design should be lost, which in probability would have turned so much to the benefit of our nation. It being also an instance of the pious care and good policy that was then taken by the court for the relief and sustentation of poor fugitives, flying hither from their native country, friends, and livelihood, for Christ's sake; and yet that the public might be as little burdened by them as might be. An apology for the largeness of the former relation.

BOOK II.

Anno 1550.

After the King's death they remove to Frankford.

Troubles at Frankford.

Queen Mary's acceſs to the crown ſpoiled this good deſign. For all ſtrangers being then commanded ſuddenly to depart the realm, this congregation accordingly brake up, and removed themſelves to Frankford in Germany: where the magiſtrates kindly entertained them, and allowed them a church. And when afterwards, *viz.* 1554, divers of the Engliſh nation fled thither for their religion, the governors of the town, upon their petition, received them alſo, and all other ſuch Engliſh as ſhould reſort thither upon the ſame account; as many did. And two members of this French congregation, mindful undoubtedly of the former kindneſs themſelves or their countrymen had received in England, aſſiſted them much; namely, Morellio a miniſter, and Caſtalio an elder. The Engliſh here made uſe of the ſame church the French did; theſe one day, and the Engliſh another: and upon Sundays the uſe of it reſpectively, as themſelves could agree.

2-16 Prove friends to the Engliſh exiles there.

And as there were ſettled here congregations of French, Italians, and Dutch ſtrangers, ſo I am very apt to believe there was alſo a church of Spaniards too. Indeed I do not find expreſs mention of any ſuch till the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; when Caſſiodorus and Anthonius Corranus Hiſpalenſis [of Sevil] (a member of the Italian congregation) were their preachers, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething in my memorials of Archbiſhop Grindal. It is certain, that in Queen Mary's days many of thoſe Spaniards, who came over in the retinue of Philip, the Spaniſh prince, or after, forſook popery, and became profeſſors of the reformed religion: which one cannot well tell how it ſhould come to paſs, unleſs it were by the hearing of the Goſpel preached in their own language here. And it is obſervable, that among theſe many had been ſent for over, in that Queen's time, to convert our nation from hereſy, as they termed it, and to reduce it to the Roman church. This notable ſucceſs and power, which the clear evidence of truth had upon theſe men, was in thoſe times taken much notice of, as it might well be. James Pilkington, the Maſter of St. John's College in Cambridge, and who was afterwards Biſhop of Durham, makes a note of it to the univerſity, in the ſermon which he preached at the reſtitution of Bucer

A Spaniſh church.

Caſſiodorus and Corranus their preachers.

Many of King Philip's Spaniards become Proteſtants.

and Pagius, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, after the barbarous indignities that had been offered them in the former Queen's reign, in raking their dead bodies out of their graves, and burning them. "It is much more no- "table," said he, "that we have seen to come to pass in our "days, that the Spaniards, sent for into the realm on pur- "pose to suppress the Gospel, as soon as they were returned "home, replenished many parts of their country with the "same truth of religion, to the which before they were ut- "ter enemies." CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1550.

Great numbers of Protestants in Spain and Italy.

Nay, and not long after this, such earnest professors of the true religion were found in Spain, that many of them endured the fiery trial, and offered up their bodies to the flames, for Christ's sake; and more were cast into prisons: and yet the Gospel got ground there to admiration; as Zanchy gave a relation thereof to A Lasco in one of his letters: wherein he spake of the great numbers of true professors in Italy also. The place being so much to our present purpose, I will take leave to lay before the reader. *In Calabriæ duobus castellis, &c.* "In two castles of Calabria, one belonging "to the Duke of Montalto, the other to a nobleman of Na- "ples, were found 4000 brethren, being the remainders of "those brethren called Waldenses. They were for many "years unknown, and lived safely in their ancestors' posses- "sions. For though they approved not of masses, yet they "thought the faithful might go to them with a safe consci- "ence. But being untaught this bad doctrine, they did "wholly and universally abstain going any more. And so "it came to pass, that they could not be concealed any lon- "ger: therefore a persecution was raised up against them. "They writ to the brethren at Geneva to assist them by "their prayers, their counsel, and also by human aid. We "see also in Italy, where the seat of Antichrist is, there is a "great harvest; but very few to gather it. O God, have "mercy upon Italy. In Spain very many were burnt, more "cast into prison. Nevertheless, in the mean time, the Gos- "pel goes forward, as we hear, wonderfully." And in ano- ther letter he writes thus; "There is a very great persecu- "tion in Italy, nor a less in Spain: a sign there be many "faithful there that dare confess Christ." Zanchii. Ep. Lib 2. 247

BOOK II.

Anno 1550.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Archbiſhop's Care of the Revenues of the Church. Bucer dies.

The Archbiſhop laboured to preſerve the revenues of the church.

I RETURN now to our Prelate again, to take a further view of him, acting in his high function in the Engliſh church. It muſt not be omitted to be ranked among his good ſervices towards it, that he did what in him lay to preſerve the revenues of it in his time, when there were ſo many hungry courtiers gaping after them. Theſe were again in a new danger after the Duke of Northumberland and his party had removed Somerſet, and made themſelves the great controllers of public affairs.

The detaining the church revenues a ſcandal to the reformation.

It was indeed the ſcandal of the reformation, that the demeans, that had been ſettled long before by our pious anceſtors for the maintenance of God's miniſters, as they had been formerly wrongfully appropriated to monaſteries, and ſwallowed up by lazy monks, ſo they had not now recurred and been reſtored to their true owners; but became poſſeſſed by laymen: ſo that in many ſcores of pariſhes there remained not ſufficient to buy bread for the incumbents and their families. And it was more than ſuſpicious, that many patrons did render the condition of the church ſtill worſe in theſe days by retaining and reſerving to themſelves, whether by contract or power, the tithes of the benefices they preſented to: and by theſe means pluralities and nonreſidences, the old miſchief of the church, were not redreſſed, but rather made neceſſary. This abuſe grieved good men, and lovers of the reformation, both at home and abroad; becauſe they ſaw how the preaching of the Goſpel was obſtructed hereby.

Calvin to the Archbiſhop upon this matter.

Concerning this, Bucer from Cambridge wrote privately to Calvin in the year 1550. And this made Calvin addreſs a letter to our Archbiſhop, telling him, that, for the flouriſhing ſtate of religion, he thought it highly needful to have fit paſtors, that might ſeriouſly ſet themſelves to

perform the office of preaching. One great obſtacle whereof he makes very truly to be, *Quod prædæ exp ſiti ſunt Eccleſiæ reditus;* "That the rents of the church were "expoſed to be a prey:" which he calls *malum ſane intolerabile.* And of the ſame thing, and not long after, *viz.* July 1551, he admoniſhed the Duke of Somerſet in a French letter, all of his own hand writing: which becauſe of the antiquity of it, and the matter it treats of, referring to our church, and not being among his printed epiſtles, I have added in the Appendix. In which letter he excites the Duke to take care that there might be fit and able miniſters fixed in pariſhes to teach the people: the want whereof he attributed to two cauſes. The one whereof he made to lie in the univerſities; and the other in the matter that we are ſpeaking of. "That the revenue of the cures was "withdrawn and diſperſed away: ſo that there was no-"thing to maintain good men, who were fit to perform "the office of true paſtors. And hence it came to paſs, "that ignorant prieſts were put in; which made great con-"fuſion: for the quality of the perſons begat great con-"tempt of God's word. Adviſing the Duke to endeavour "to bring thoſe that had theſe ſpiritual poſſeſſions, to be "willing to part with them: inaſmuch as they could not "proſper in defrauding God's people of their ſpiritual "food, which they did by hindering the churches of good "paſtors."

CHAP. XXIV. Anno 1550. Ep. 127. 248

And to the Duke of Somerſet.

No. LVIII.

Bucer, the King's divinity profeſſor at Cambridge, was this year engaged in a public diſputation; as his colleague, Peter Martyr, the King's profeſſor at Oxon, had been there the laſt. Before this diſputation happened, Bucer communicated his purpoſe to his ſaid colleague and friend: who, having ſufficient experience of the vainglorious ends of the Papiſts in theſe kinds of diſputations, and of their unfair dealings, adviſed him in a letter not to engage in it, but to decline it. On which letter Archbiſhop Parker, into whoſe hands it fell, wrote this inſcription; *Ad Bucerum, prudens Martyris conſilium, ut non det ſe in diſputatione cum gloriioſis Thraſonibus.* But it ſeems he was too far engaged to avoid it with reputation, nor thought he

Bucer publickly diſputeth at Cambridge.

MSS. C.C.C.C.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

fit to do it for the vindication and fake of truth. The queſtions diſputed of, and his antagoniſts, were before mentioned. It ſeems he came off with great credit; for his friend Martyr, in a letter to him, ſoon after it was over, profeſſed a great deal of gladneſs that his diſputations had that good ſucceſs: and that it ſo well happened was by God's providence: which, he ſaid, he could ſcarce have believed to have been a thing poſſible, without viſitors, or other grave judges; ſince the Papiſts reckoned it enough for their buſineſs only to diſpute, afterwards ſtudiouſly diſperſing their lies, to their own advantage, and the diſparagement of thoſe that diſputed againſt them. And therefore, Martyr ſaid, he wondered not that Chriſt in the beginning confirmed the diſputations of his Apoſtles with miracles.

November 9, Bucer began a learned reading of the power and uſe of the miniſtry, but lived not to finiſh it; for the latter end of this year put an end to this learned man's life: of whoſe counſel and advice our Archbiſhop made great uſe in the ſteps he made for reformation of religion. He made his will before he left Straſburgh: but the codicil to that will he added, February 22, a few days before his death. Wherein he left to his wife to take the advice of Mr. Bradford, and the miniſter of Alhallowes, for ordering of his burial, and conſtituted two eminent men of that univerſity his executors, namely, Dr. Matthew Parker, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dr. Walter Haddon, after Maſter of Requeſts to Queen Elizabeth: and both of them adorned his funerals, the one with an Engliſh ſermon before the univerſity, and the other with a Latin oration, being univerſity orator: both which are extant in print. He died but poor; and ſeemed to be in ſome want of neceſſaries in his laſt ſickneſs: for there is a ſhort letter, in a ſcrawling hand, which I have ſeen, wrote by him to the aforeſaid Parker, then Maſter of Benet College, and his great friend, to lend him ten crowns: which becauſe it was the laſt letter, I believe, he ever wrote, and but ſhort, I ſhall here inſert.

Dieth.

249

S. D. Oro D. T. Clariſſime D. Doctor, ut des mihi X coronatos mutuo, uno tantum menſe. Reddam bona fide. Opt. vale. CHAP. XXIV. Anno 1550.

D. T. deditiſſ. in Dno.
Martinus Bucerus manu perægre propria.

Under which is writ by Dr. Parker, out of the honour he had for his memory, *Scriptum noviſſimum omnium quod ſcripſit D. Bucerus, paulo ante mortem ejus.*

Bucer's friends, after they had taken care for giving him an honourable funeral, conſulted the ſupply of his widow, Wibrand Bucerin; that ſhe might be well gratified, and preſented with ſome gratuities, that might ſhew the reſpect the nation had for her learned huſband. So the Univerſity wrote a letter to the King and council concerning Bucer's death, and their reſpectful interment of him, with the ſignification of their deſire, that his Majeſty would ſend them another able profeſſor in his room. With this univerſity-letter, Dr. Parker wrote another to Sir John Cheke; entreating him to preſent their letter, and that he would particularly ſpeak to the council, and to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to remember the widow. Sir John Cheke, March 9, wrote a letter in anſwer to Dr. Parker's; which I have placed in the Appendix. He therein lamented the loſs of this man: commended him for his depth of knowledge, earneſtneſs in religion, fatherlineſs in life, and authority in knowledge. He added, that the King would provide ſome grave learned man to maintain God's true learning in that univerſity: though he thought in all points they would not meet with Bucer's like. He deſired Parker, that all Bucer's books and writings might be ſent up and ſaved for the King's Majeſty, except Mrs. Bucer might turn them to better account ſome other way. The Univerſity wrote up concerning his death. No. LIX.

Theſe books and papers were apprized at one hundred pounds. But ſhe received but fourſcore pounds of thoſe that bought them. Which ſhe deſired Parker and Haddon, the executors here in England, to teſtify under their hands; that ſhe might ſhew it to vindicate her truth and honeſty, not to have wronged the heirs. The library was divided into three parts. The King had the manuſcripts, which was one part; Bucer's library.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

the Ducheſs [of Somerſet, I ſuppoſe,] had the greater part of the books, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury had the remainder: for which he, for his ſhare, paid her forty pounds. The univerſity gave her an hundred crowns: the King an hundred marks more, beſides her huſband's half year's penſion, though he died before Lady-day, when it came due. He alſo allowed for ſuch reaſonable repairs as Bucer had beſtowed about the houſe wherein he lived. And, March 31, 1551, ſhe had a paſſage by ſea granted her with eight perſons in her company. She returned unto Straſburgh, whither ſhe retired, by Mr. Rich. Hills, merchant, the ſum of two hundred twenty-ſix pounds two ſhillings. From Straſburgh, in February the next year, ſhe wrote a letter to the executors, wherein ſhe acknowledged their kindneſs to her, praying God for them, in reſpect of their ſingular humanity and benefits which they had ſhewed to her huſband and herſelf, and eſpecially when he was dead. *Miſeram me*, ſaid ſhe in that letter, *omnique ſolatio deſtitutam non deſeruiſtis, ſed in veſtram me tutelam benigne ſuſcepiſtis; omnia denique Chriſtianæ charitatis officia demonſtraſtis.* Bucer left a ſon named Nathaniel, and a daughter named Elizabeth, behind him, at Straſburgh, when he came into England: which, I ſuppoſe, were all the children he left ſurviving him, whom he had by a former wife that died of the plague there. By her he had many more, but they died before him.

250

His widow retires to Germany.

The correſpondence between him and Martyr. MSS. C.C.C.C.

As long as Bucer lived, there was a dear correſpondence between him and P. Martyr, while they were the one at Cambridge, and the other at Oxford. In the private library at Benet College there be ſtill remaining divers letters from Martyr to him: one whereof was writ upon occaſion of Bucer's communicating to him his judgment of the habits; which he had compoſed for the uſe of Hoper. Which letter began thus.

S. P. Perlegi, Vir Dei, quæ de veſtium diſcrimine docte pieque ſcripſiſti, ac ex illis non mediocrem voluptatem cepi, tum quia vera quæ prædicas intelligebam, tum quod per omnia conſentiebant cum his, quæ ego Londinum ad Hopperum ipſum, pridie ejus diei, qua tuæ mihi redderentur miſeram. So that hence it appears they were both unanimous for wear-

ing of the habits enjoined; and ſo had given their judgments to Hoper. In the ſame letter he anſwered a caſe put to him by Bucer, *Quamdiu fidem in Chriſto generalem, confuſam aut implicitam ſatisfuiſſe ad hominum ſalutem.* And the reſolution of this queſtion being the chief matter of this letter, Archbiſhop Parker (into whoſe hands it fell) entitled it thus, CHAP. XXIV. Anno 1550.

Quamdiu Fides implicita licuerit.

And on the margent of the ſame letter, where he entered upon another argument, is written by the ſame hand,

De concordi confeſſione in re Sacramentaria.

For A Laſco had lately wrote to Martyr his deſire, that ſome confeſſion about the ſacrament might be drawn up; to which he and Bucer, and Bernardin, and Martyr, might ſet their hands, to teſtify the foreign Proteſtants' conſent.

Another letter, wrote by Martyr to Bucer, bore this title, ſet to it by the ſame hand with the former,

Quibus artibus inſtituerint Diſputationem Theologicam in Comitiis Oxonienſibus.

And on the ſide of this letter,

Gaudet Diſputationem non eſſe factam et Aſiutia Papiſtica in Diſputatione.

In a third letter he gave Bucer advice, "that he ſhould 251
"not engage in any diſputation with the vainglorious Pa-
"piſts."

There is yet a fourth letter: wherein Martyr communicated to him how he had been employed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in taking into examination the Engliſh book of Common Prayer, with his judgment thereon. This letter hath this title put to it by Parker,

Cenſura libri communium precum.

A plot of the Papiſts at Oxon againſt Martyr, at an Act.

The contents of the ſecond and fourth letter, having ſome things very remarkable for the illuſtration of our hiſtory, I ſhall here ſet down more largely. In the former, having congratulated Bucer's coming off ſo well in his diſputation with Young the Papiſt, he took notice of the unfair ways the Papiſts uſed in their diſputes: and then proceeded to tell what happened to himſelf the laſt Act at Oxford this year, by a party there, that did what they could to affront him, and the evangelical truth which he taught. Certain that then went out bachelors of divinity, made this combination among

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

themſelves. One of them they ſet up to be reſpondent. The opponents, who were of the ſame ſtrain, and the queſtion to be diſputed, they ſuppreſſed, and kept under great ſilence; on purpoſe that Peter Martyr, the King's Profeſſor, ſhould not know: and when ſome had urged to them, that it belonged to the Profeſſor to know the queſtion, they anſwered, that it did not; and that it was enough for them to know it that were to diſpute on it. The day before the diſputation was to be undertaken, about two of the clock in the afternoon, they ſet up the queſtion upon the church-doors: and then it appeared to be in behalf of tranſubſtantiation. And, to exclude the Profeſſor, they choſe to themſelves a great Papiſt, Dr. Chedſey, for their father. And here the opponents were to have taken and managed all Martyr's arguments; and the reſpondent was to have aſſoiled them as he thought good. And then the opponents were to acknowledge, they were ſatisfied with the anſwers given thereunto. And their father, who was to occupy the Profeſſor's place, was by a ſpeech highly to approve and applaud all that had been done. And things were ſo to be ordered that day, that the Profeſſor ſhould not have any opportunity of ſpeaking. For theſe diſputations were to have been performed but a little before night, after the civilians had finiſhed their parts; which uſed to be the laſt exerciſes. Or if, after this divinity-diſputation were done, the Profeſſor had been minded to ſay any thing, he muſt do it when it was night, and when the tired auditors would be all going home: and then theſe diſputants and their party were every where to cry *Victory*, and carry away the glory. There was now obſerved a greater confluence of people at this Act, than could have been believed: for they had ſent about their letters to invite ſuch hither as were for their own turn: and all to increaſe the triumph. Among the reſt there were preſent the chaplains of Wincheſter and Durham. But all this elaborate and fine-ſpun plot was by a providence broken on a ſudden; the Vicechancellor, whether he feared any riot, or for what
252 other cauſe, it was uncertain, forbidding the divinity-diſputations that day, without the privity of the Profeſſor.

The matter of Martyr's other letter, wrote to Bucer in January, (as the former was in September before,) related

to the book of Common Prayer. For the correction of which the Archbishop, the Bishop of Ely, and the other bishops were, by the King's command, met together in consultation. And that this work might be the more effectually performed, the Archbishop thought good to have the judgment herein of both the public professors, Bucer and Martyr. Accordingly Bucer wrote his Censure, and Martyr his Annotations, as was said before: a copy of which Censure Bucer had communicated to Martyr: who in this letter declared his consent and approbation thereunto. As to his own annotations, Cheke's Latin version, which he used, was so brief and defective, that for that reason many things were omitted by him, which he would have noted, had he seen the book complete. But after he had sent in those his annotations to the Archbishop, who earnestly required them, he saw Bucer's Censure, whereby he perceived divers other things called for correction, than he had taken notice of. So he reduced whatsoever was wanting in his annotations into certain brief articles, and acquainted the Archbishop therewith; and that in them all he did freely agree with Bucer, that it were fit they should be altered. But Martyr's annotations did fully accord with Bucer's animadversions, though they were at a distance, and consulted not at all with one another before they wrote their judgments. But one thing was passed over by Bucer, which Martyr wondered at: it was in the office for the communion of the sick. Where it was ordered, "That if this private communion "happened to be on the same Sunday when there should "be a public one, then the priest was to take along with "him some of the consecrated elements, and with them to "administer the sacrament in the house of the sick. Where- "in this offended Martyr, as he said, that the office that be- "longed to the communion should not be repeated before "the sick man, and the rest that communicated with him, "since the words of the supper do rather belong to the men, "than to the bread and wine. And his advice was, that all "that was necessarily required to the Lord's Supper should "be said and done whensoever it was privately, as well as "publicly, celebrated." He subscribed to Bucer's Censure in every thing; and he thanked God, that had administered an

CHAP. XXIV.

Anno 1550. Martyr's judgment of the Communion-Book.

Pag. 301.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

occaſion, that the biſhops ſhould by them be admoniſhed of thoſe matters. So that it was concluded by the biſhops, at their conference about the communion-book, that much ſhould be changed therein, as the Archbiſhop told Martyr, then at his houſe: and if they would not do it, the King was reſolved to do it by himſelf and his parliament, without them. In this letter he ſpeaks ſomething concerning Hoper, whoſe behaviour he diſliked; and concerning Dr. Smith, who had lately written againſt the Archbiſhop's book of the Sacrament, and againſt himſelf concerning monaſtic vows. Both theſe letters, as well worthy the ſight and peruſal of the reader, I have repoſited in the Appendix.

Num. LX. LXI.

253 Bucer's great dangers.

Thus this reverend and learned foreigner, after many great difficulties paſſed through for the cauſe of religion, flying from one place to another, came at laſt to a natural death and a quiet end in this land. For his fame and wiſdom he was called by the Electors Palatine and of Brandenburgh, with the Emperor's permiſſion, to temper the Emperor's reſcript about religion, which was to be publiſhed, that ſo it might pleaſe both parties. But he thought he could not do it with any honeſty; and, rather than meddle with it, he fled to Straſburgh with his wife and children: hereby he fell under the diſpleaſure of thoſe Princes, as well as before he had done under that of the Emperor for the reformation of Colen; the envy of which Melanchon eſcaped, but it fell on poor Bucer. Being at Straſburgh, he alſo contracted much ill-will by means of the Anabaptiſts and others, whom he oppoſed, and who, by their pretended ſanctimony, had a great party there. His friends apprehended him on theſe accounts in great danger; but he thought of no removal to any other place, patron, or church, truſting himſelf in God's hands, till Sturmius and ſome others adviſed him by all means to depart into England. Which he at length yielding to, the ſaid Sturmius admoniſhed him, for his ſafer travel, to take a more uncommon way, through Lorain and Rhemes, and ſome other parts of France, to Calais, and there to croſs over the ſea. Which he did, and was very hoſpitably here entertained, as was ſaid before.

Bishops consecrated.

CHAP. XXIV

Anno 1550.

June 29, John Ponet, or Poynet, D. D. Chaplain to the Archbishop, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester at Lambeth chapel by the Archbishop of Canterbury; assisted by Nicolas Bishop of London, and Arthur Bishop of Bangor. This consecration was performed with all the usual ceremonies and habits, probably for this reason, to give as little occasion of offence to Papists as might be, and to keep close to the old usages, avoiding superstition: therefore it was set down in the register at large in what formalities all was now done. The Archbishop is described, *Usitatis insignibus redimitus, et uno epitogio, sive capa, indutus, oratorium suum prædictum honeste et decenter ornatum ingressus*, &c. "Having on his mitre and cope, usual in such cases, went "into his chapel, handsomely and decently adorned, to ce- "lebrate the Lord's Supper according to the custom, and "by prescript of the book, intituled, *The Book of Common-* "*Service*. Before the people there assembled, the holy suf- "frages first began, and were publickly recited, and the Epi- "stle and Gospel read in the vulgar tongue, Nicolas Bishop "of London, and Arthur Bishop of Bangor, assisting; and, "having their surplices and copes on, and their pastoral "staves in their hands, led Dr. John Ponet, endued with "the like habits, in the middle of them, unto the most re- "verend father; and presented him unto him, sitting in a "decent chair; and used these words, Most reverend father "in God, we present unto you this godly and well-learned "man to be consecrated bishop. The bishop elect forthwith "produced the King's letters patents before the Archbishop: "which, by command of the said Archbishop, being read 254 "by Dr. Glyn, the said Ponet took the oath of renouncing "the Bishop of Rome, and then the oath of canonical obe- "dience to the Archbishop. These things being thus dis- "patched, the Archbishop exhorted the people to prayer "and supplication to the Most High, according to the order "prescribed in the Book of Ordination, set forth in the "month of March 1549. According to which order he was "elected and consecrated, and endued with the episcopal "ornaments, the Bishop of London first having read the "third chapter of the first Epistle of Paul to Timothy, in

Ponet.

Cranm. Regist.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

"manner of a ſermon. Theſe things being done, and the "ſacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated upon a table, "covered with a white linen cloth by the Archbiſhop and "the two aſſiſting biſhops, the ſame Archbiſhop decreed to "write to the Archdeacon of Canterbury for the inveſtiture, "inſtallation, and inthronization of the ſaid Biſhop of Ro-"cheſter, as it was cuſtomary. Preſent, Anthony Huſe, prin-"cipal Regiſter of the Archbiſhop; Peter Lilly, John Lewis, "John Incent, public notaries; and many others, as well "clerks as laicks."

Hoper.

March 8, John Hoper was conſecrated Biſhop of Glo-ceſter, juſt after the ſame manner, by the Archbiſhop: Nicholas Biſhop of London, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter, aſſiſting, clothed (ſay the words of the regiſter) in linen ſurplices and copes, and John elect of Glocceſter in the like habit.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbiſhop publiſheth his Book againſt Gardiner.

Anno 1551.

THIS year our Archbiſhop publiſhed his elaborate book of the ſacrament, confuting the groſs and carnal preſence of Chriſt there, in vindication of a former book of his, wrote againſt by Biſhop Gardiner and Dr. Smith. For, to give the reader ſome diſtinct account of this matter, in the year 1550, Cranmer printed a book in Engliſh in quarto with this title; *A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt; with a Confutation of ſundry Errors concerning the ſame: grounded and eſtabliſhed upon God's Holy Word, and approved by the conſent of the moſt ancient Doctors of the Church.* The great reaſon that moved him to write this book was, that he might the more effectually purge the church of popery; eſteeming tranſubſtantiation, and the maſs, to be the very roots of it. "The taking away of beads, pilgrimages, pardons, "and ſuch-like popery, was (as he wrote in his Preface) "but the lopping off a few branches; which would ſoon

Cranmer publiſheth his book of the ſacrament.

His firſt book.

" ſpring up again, unleſs the roots of the tree, which were " tranſubſtantiation, and the ſacrifice of the maſs, were " pulled up. Therefore, out of a ſincere zeal to the honour " of God, he would labour," he ſaid, " in his vineyard to " cut down that tree of error, root and branch." By this book very many were enlightened to perceive the errors of the popiſh doctrines of the ſacrament. This treatiſe he divided into five books or points. I. Of the true and catholic doctrine and uſe of the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt. II. Againſt the error of tranſubſtantiation. III. The manner how Chriſt is preſent in the ſacrament. IV. Of the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Chriſt. V. Of the oblation and ſacrifice of our Saviour Chriſt. In the third part he made mention of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in theſe words: " As many " of them [*i. e.* of the Papiſt writers] as I have read, " (the Biſhop of Wincheſter only excepted,) do ſay, that " Chriſt called not the bread his body." This Biſhop was much offended that he was named in the book, and pretended this to be one reaſon why he did write againſt it, to vindicate himſelf, as well as the papal church, hereby ſo dangerouſly ſtruck at. This book of Cranmer's was turned into Latin by John Yong; who complied afterwards with the old religion under Queen Mary, and was Maſter of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.

CHAP. XXV. Anno 1551.

255

At this book the defenders of Popery were ſo nettled, that, in the ſame year 1550, Wincheſter then in the Tower, and fickle Dr. Smith then at Lovain, printed anſwers. Of Smith's book I ſhall only note by the way, that, March 8, 1550, there was an order of council to examine the bringer over of his book againſt Cranmer: ſuch a countenance did the ſtate give to the Archbiſhop and his book. Gardiner's book made the greateſt noiſe: which was printed in France, and intituled, *An Explication and Aſſertion of the true Catholic Faith touching the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, with the Confutation of a Book written againſt the ſame.* In the beginning of his book he wrote, " that his ſermon before the King, [on " St. Peter's day,] touching the ſacrament of the altar, gave " occaſion to the Archbiſhop's book againſt it; and that he " was called before the King's commiſſioners at Lambeth

Wrote againſt by Gardiner and Smith.

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

"for his catholic faith in the ſacrament." Whereas indeed this was not the cauſe of his troubles; nor had ſome former copies of his book theſe words: but, after the commiſſion was iſſued forth againſt him, to make his cauſe appear the more ſpecious, as if it were the cauſe of the church, he thought fit to make an alteration in the beginning of his book in the manner aboveſaid: and, to carry on the ſcene, he in open court offered his book before the King's commiſſioners.

Vindicated in another book by the Archbiſhop.

To this book of Gardiner's our Archbiſhop ſtudied and compoſed an anſwer; holding himſelf bound, for the vindication of the evangelical truth, as well as of his own writing, and for the ſatisfaction of the people, not to ſuffer it to lie untaken notice of. When it was known the Archbiſhop was preparing an anſwer againſt Gardiner, the people were in very great expectation, and conceived an earneſt deſire to ſee and read it: having therefore diſpatched his copy, and ſent it to Rainold Wolf, his printer, it was printed off in the month of September 1551. But there was ſome ſtop put to the publiſhing of it, occaſioned by a proclamation iſſued out from the King; whereby, for ſome political ends, both the printing and ſelling of Engliſh books, without the allowance of the King's Majeſty, or ſix of his privy-council, was forbidden. The Archbiſhop, being deſirous that his book might come abroad the next term, for the contentation of many who had long expected the ſame, ſent to Secretary Cecyl and Sir John Cheke to procure, either from the King or council, a licence to the ſaid Wolf for printing and ſelling his book: which was obtained, and the book publiſhed accordingly. This letter of the Archbiſhop's, dated Sept. 29, I have thought not amiſs to repoſit in the Appendix. October 1, a licence was granted to Wolf to publiſh the book, under the King's privilege, the court then being at Hampton-court, and the Archbiſhop himſelf preſent. The title this ſecond book of the Archbiſhop's bore was, *An Anſwer by the Reverend Father in God Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and ſophiſtical Cavillation, deviſed by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Biſhop of Winchester, againſt the true and godly Doctrine of the moſt Holy Sacra-*

256

No. LXII.

CHAP. XXV. Anno 1551.

ment of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt. Wherein is alſo, as occaſion ſerveth, anſwered ſuch Places of the Book of Dr. Richard Smith, as may ſeem any thing worthy the anſwering. Alſo a true copy of the Book written, and in open Court delivered, by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, not one Word added or diminiſhed, but faithfully in all Points agreeing with the Original. This book of Archbiſhop Cranmer's was printed again at London, 1580, with his life, and ſome other things.

The method of the Archbiſhop's reply.

His reply to Gardiner was in the moſt fair and candid method that could be deviſed: for he firſt ſet down his own treatiſe, piece by piece; then Gardiner's reply thereunto, word for word, leaving not one paragraph without a full anſwer. His reply to Smith was only of ſome things moſt worthy to be taken notice of, the reſt of Smith's book being mere trifles. This reply to Smith he inſerted in the body of his anſwer to Gardiner, as occaſion ſerved: only at the end he made a particular reply to Smith's preface.

The judgments made of this book. In Antiq. Brit.

It ſeemed to be a very complete exercitation upon that ſubject. The book was ſtored with ſo great learning and plenty of arguments, *Ut ea controverſia*, ſaith one of his ſucceſſors, *a nemine unquam contra Pontificios accuratius tractata eſſe videatur*; "That no one controverſy was by any ever "handled againſt the Papiſts more accurately." It may not be amiſs to mention here the opinion that Cranmer himſelf had of his book, in that famous and renowned confeſſion he made of his faith in St. Mary's church, Oxon, immediately before he was led away to his burning. Where he expreſſed his full approbation and great confidence of the doctrine contained therein: ſaying, "that as for the ſacrament, he "believed as he had taught in his book againſt the Biſhop "of Wincheſter. The which book," he ſaid, "taught ſo "true a doctrine of the ſacrament, that it ſhould ſtand at "the laſt day before the judgment of God, where the pa-"piſtical doctrine, contrary thereto, ſhould be aſhamed to "ſhew her face." The Papiſts ſpake as much againſt this book, being much galled by it. Dr. Treſham, in his diſputation with Latimer, ſaid, there were ſix hundred errors in the book. Weſton, thinking to invalidate the book by the pretended novelty of the doctrine, aſked the ſame father,

Fox's Acts.

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

how long he had been of that opinion? He ſaid, not paſt ſeven years; that is, about the year 1547; and that Archbiſhop Cranmer's book confirmed his judgment therein: and added, that if he could but remember all therein contained, he would not fear to anſwer any man in this matter.

How the Archbiſhop came off from the opinion of the corporal preſence.

257 The Archbiſhop had acknowledged to the Queen's commiſſioners at Oxford, that Ridley had firſt begun to enlighten him as to the true notion of the preſence, as he had maintained it in his book. Hereupon one of them took occaſion to try to baffle the true doctrine, by making the whole ſtreſs of it to depend upon the authority of ſingle Ridley. Latimer, ſaid he, leaned upon Cranmer, and Cranmer leaned upon Ridley. Whereas the truth of this was no more, but that Ridley, reading Bertram's book of the body and blood of Chriſt, was ſharpened to examine the old opinion more accurately, of the preſence of Chriſt's fleſh and blood; and looking into eccleſiaſtical authors, he found it greatly controverted in the ninth century, and learnedly writ againſt: which made him begin to conclude it none of the ancient doctrines of the church, but more lately brought into it. Theſe his thoughts he communicated to Archbiſhop Cranmer, which was about the year 1546: whereupon they both ſet to examine it with more than ordinary care: and all the arguments that Cranmer gathered about it he digeſted into his book. Nor was the good Archbiſhop aſhamed to make a public acknowledgment in print of this, as well as of his other popiſh errors, in his anſwer to Smith's preface, who, it ſeems, had charged him with inconſtancy. "This I confeſs of myſelf, that, not long before I wrote the "ſaid catechiſm, I was in that error of the real preſence, as "I was many years paſt in many other errors, as of tranſub-"ſtantiation, of the ſacrifice propitiatory of the prieſts in the "maſs, of pilgrimages, of purgatory, &c. being brought up "from my youth in them. For the which, and other the "offences of my youth, I do daily pray unto God for par-"don and mercy. After it pleaſed God to ſhew me, by "his holy word, a more perfect knowledge of his ſon Jeſus "Chriſt, I put away my former ignorance. As God gave "me light, ſo through his grace I opened my eyes to re-

CHAP. XXV. Anno 1551.

" ceive it. And I truſt in God's mercy for pardon of my for-
" mer errors." I ſet this down the more at large, to ſhew the great ingenuity as well as piety of this good man.

The Archbiſhop's great ſkill in this controverſy.

Peter Martyr, in the year following this, printed a book of the ſacrament, which was the ſum of what he had read before upon that point in the univerſity of Oxford. Which book he dedicated to his patron, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and, giving the reaſon why he made the dedication to him, ſaid, " That he knew certainly that Cranmer had ſo
" great ſkill in this controverſy, as one could hardly find in
" any one beſides. That there was none of the Fathers which
" he had not diligently noted; no ancient or modern book
" extant, that he [Martyr] had not with his own eyes ſeen
" noted by the Archbiſhop's hand. Whatſoever belonged
" to the whole controverſy, he ſaid that the Archbiſhop
" had digeſted into particular chapters; councils, canons,
" Popes' decrees, pertaining hereunto: and that with ſo
" great labour, that, unleſs he had been an eye-witneſs of it
" and ſeen it, he could not eaſily have believed others, if
" they had told him, in regard of the infinite toil, diligence,
" and exactneſs, wherewith the Archbiſhop had done it."
He added, " that the Archbiſhop had not beſtowed ſuch
" kind of pains and ſtudy in the matter of the ſacrament
" only, but that he had done the ſame thing as to all other 258
" doctrines, in effect, which in that age were eſpecially un-
" der controverſy. And this, that learned man ſaid, he had
" made good obſervation of. Nor," as he went on, " that he
" wanted ſkill, a method, and induſtry in defending what he
" held. Which might," he ſaid, " be known by this, becauſe
" he had ſo often conflicted with his adverſaries, both pub-
" lickly and privately, and by a marvellous ſtrength of learning,
" quickneſs of wit, and dexterity of management, had aſſert-
" ed what he held to be true, from the thorny and intricate
" cavils of ſophiſters; [glancing at his controverſies with
" Wincheſter, who was commonly then called the Sophiſter;]
" and that he wanted not a will, yea, a mind ready to defend
" found and chriſtian doctrines. That all men did ſuffici-
" ently underſtand, who ſaw him burn with ſo great an en-
" deavour of reſtoring religion, that for this cauſe only he
" had great and heavy enemies, and neglected many com-

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

"modities of this life, and underwent horrible dangers." The great and intimate converſe that P. Martyr had with Cranmer, gave him opportunity to know him very well: and therefore I have choſen to ſet down this character that he gave of him, and particularly of his ability in this controverſy of the Euchariſt.

P. Martyr enlightened by Cranmer.

And I am apt to think that the careful peruſal of theſe authorities, collected by the Archbiſhop, and his converſation with this learned prelate, being much with him at Lambeth, was a cauſe of bringing Martyr to the true doctrine: for, at his firſt coming to Oxon, he was a Papiſt, or a Lutheran, as to the belief of the preſence. And ſo Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's, told Bartlet Green at his examination; and that Martyr, perceiving the King's council, as he uncharitably ſuggeſted, to be of another opinion, he, to pleaſe them, forſook the true catholic faith. But Mr. Green, who had been a hearer of him at Oxon, replied, that he had heard Martyr ſay, "That he had not, while he was a Papiſt, read "St. Chryſoſtom upon the tenth to the Corinthians, nor "many other places of the doctors: but when he had read "them, and well conſidered them, he was content to yield "to them, having firſt humbled himſelf in prayer, deſiring "God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true under-"ſtanding of Scripture."

Fox's Acts.

Fox's conjecture of the Archbiſhop.

As to the authorities the Archbiſhop allegeth in his book, it was the conjecture of John Fox, that he made uſe of Frith's book, which he wrote of the ſacrament againſt More, divers years before; and that from the ſaid author the Archbiſhop ſeemed to have collected the teſtimonies of the doctors, which he produced in his apology againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter: and that he gathered the principal and chiefeſt helps thence, that he leaned to. But although he might peruſe Frith, as he did almoſt all other authors that wrote of this controverſy, yet he was too well verſed in the eccleſiaſtical writers, that he needed to go a borrowing to the readings of any others, for ſentences and allegations out of them.

A ſecond book of Gardiner againſt the Archbiſhop.

Cranmer lived to ſee his book replied again unto by his adverſary Gardiner, in Latin, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, a divine of Lovain. His book

went under this title, *Confutatio Cavillationum, quibus Sacrofanctum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti solet.* Printed at Paris, 1552. In this book he spared the name of the Archbishop, but reduceth all the Archbishop's book into no less than 255 objections: to each of which, one by one, the Catholic is brought in making answer. Next, whereas Cranmer had laid down twelve rules for the finding out the true sense of the Fathers in their writings, the Catholic examines them, and enervates them. Then follows a confutation of the solutions, whereby the Sectary, as he is called, (that is, Cranmer,) endeavoured to take off the arguments of the Catholics. And, which is the fourth and last part of the book, he defends catholic men's sense of the allegations out of the Fathers against the Sectaries. Gardiner, when he compiled this book, was in the Tower a prisoner; but yet he was under so easy restraint, that he was furnished there with workmen and amanuenses. "As they of old to the building of the tabernacle, so "he to the preparing of his book, a kind of papistical ta- "bernacle, [to use the words of Martyr,] all sorts contri- "buted something. For his book was Pandora's box, to which "all the lesser gods brought their presents. For every man, "were his learning less or more, that had any arguments "for the popish doctrine, brought them all to him, (many "whereof were windy and trivial enough,) and he out of "the heap made his collections as he thought good." But Watson and Smith were his chief assistants.

Preface to P. Martyr's book, in defence of Cranmer.

The Archbishop, though the times now soon after turned, and he cast into prison, was very desirous to prepare another book in confutation of Marcus Antonius, and in vindication of his own writing. He lived long enough to finish three parts: whereof two unhappily perished in Oxford, and the third fell into John Fox's hands, and, for aught I know, that by this time is perished also. But the great desire he had to finish his answer to that book was the chief cause that, at his last appearance before the Queen's commissioners, he made his appeal to a general council: that thereby he might gain some time and leisure to accomplish what he had begun, before his life were taken away, which he saw was likely to be within a very short space. "Otherwise, [as he

The Archbishop begins a third book; but lives not to finish it.

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

"writ to his lawyer, who was to draw up his appeal,] it "was much better for him to die in Christ's quarrel, and to "reign with him, than to be shut up and kept in that body: "unless it were to continue yet still awhile in this warfare, "for the commodity and profit of his brethren, and to the "further advancing of God's glory."

Martyr takes up the quarrel.

Peter Martyr, his surviving and learned friend, being solicited by many Englishmen by letter and word of mouth, undertook the answering this book. But before he had finished it, an English divine and friend of Martyr's, with whom he held correspondence in Queen Mary's reign, wrote him word, in the year 1557, that an answer to Antonius, by some other hand, was then in the press, naming the author. Martyr replied, "That he was rather glad of it, "than any ways moved or disturbed at it, as a disappointment "of what he was doing: and added, that he expected no- "thing from that man but what was very exquisite, acute, and "elaborate; but that he feared the noise thereof would not "hold true." And so it proved. Whether this learned man withdrew his book, that he might give way to that which P. Martyr was writing, or whether it were a flam given out to stop Martyr in his design, it is uncertain. But not long after this learned Italian put forth his answer. He had it under the press at Zurick in December 1558; and it came out the next year. Wherein, as he wrote to Calvin, he did unravel and confute all the sophisms and tricks of the Bishop of Winchester. And it came forth very seasonably, as Martyr hoped. For hereby the English Papalins might see, at this time especially, that that book was not, as they boasted hitherto, invincible. He gave this title to his book, *Defensio Doctrinæ veteris et Apostolicæ de S. S. Eucharistiæ Sacramento.* In the preface to which he shewed, "How "this work fell to his lot: not that that most reverend fa- "ther wanted an assistant, for he could easily have managed "Gardiner himself. For he knew how Cranmer, in many "and various disputes formerly had with him, came off "with victory and great praise; but because the Archbi- "shop, when in prison, was forced to leave his answer, "which he had begun, unfinished, by reason of his strait "keeping, having scarce paper and ink allowed him, and no

Mart. Epist. 260

P. Martyr Ep.

" books to make uſe of; and being cut off ſo ſoon by death, CHAP
" before he could bring to perfection what he had writ. XXV.
" Wherein, as Martyr ſaid, he had harder meaſure by far Anno 1551.
" from the Papiſts, than Gardiner had from the Proteſtants
" in King Edward's days, when he wrote his book."

Cranmer puts out his book of the Sacrament in Latin.

Gardiner, in that book of his under the name of M. Conſtantius, had ſhewn ſuch foul play with Cranmer's book, mangling it, and taking pieces and ſcraps of it here and there, and confounding the method of it, to ſupply himſelf with objections to give his own anſwers to with the moſt advantage; that the Archbiſhop thought, that if learned foreigners ſaw but his firſt book of the Sacrament, as he wrote it, it would be vindication enough againſt Gardiner's new book againſt it: and therefore he took order to have it tranſlated into the ſame language in which Gardiner wrote, that is, Latin, that impartial ſtrangers might be able to read and judge: and Sir John Cheke elegantly performed it for his friend the Archbiſhop. This book of Cranmer's, thus put into Latin, with ſome additions, came forth 1553. Before it he prefixed an epiſtle to King Edward VI. dated at Lambeth, idib. Mart. the ſame year: wherein he ſaid, " It " was his care of the Lord's flock committed to him, that " put him upon renewing and reſtoring the Lord's ſupper " according to the inſtitution of Chriſt. And that that was " the reaſon that, about three years ago, he ſet forth a book " in Engliſh againſt the principal abuſes of the papiſtical " maſs." Which book had great ſucceſs upon the people's minds, in bringing them to embrace the truth. "Whereby," he ſaid, " he perceived how great the force of truth was, " and underſtood the benefits of the grace of Chriſt, that " even the blind ſhould have their eyes opened, and partake " of the light of truth, as ſoon as it was revealed, and ſhew- " ed itſelf clearly to them. But that this gave great offence " unto Gardiner, then Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſo that he " thought nothing was to be done till he had anſwered the " book, ſuppoſing that there would be no helper of ſo de- 261
" clining and forſaken a cauſe, unleſs he put to his hand."
And ſo the Archbiſhop proceeded to ſhew how that Biſhop
firſt put forth his Engliſh book, endeavouring to overthrow
the true doctrine, and to reſtore and bring again into repute

BOOK II.

Anno 1551.

the mass, with all its superstitions; and afterwards his Latin book, under a feigned name. In which Gardiner had so unfairly dealt with the Archbishop's arguments, chopping and changing, defacing and disfiguring them, that he could not know them for his own; and all that he might make it serve his own turn the better: insomuch that he refused to have his own book translated out of English into Latin, that his true opinion and mind in this controversy might the better be apprehended. The whole epistle is writ in a pure elegant Latin style, with a good sharpness of wit.

videtur, et ut causam juvet; sæpe truncata, sæpe inversa, sæpe dissecta, sic vertebat, ut non magis a me agnosci potuerint, quam Medeæ liberi in multa membra dissecti et deformati, &c.

The publication of this his Latin book he thought sufficient for the present to entertain the world, till he should put forth, in Latin also, a full answer to Gardiner, which he intended shortly to do. To this Latin book the Archbishop, occasionally reviewing it while he was in prison, made sundry annotations and additions; not of any new arguments, but only of more authorities out of the Fathers and ancient writers. This valuable autograph fell into the hands of some of the English exiles at Embden, it may be by the means of Bishop Scory, who was superintendent of the English church there, or Sir John Cheke, who also for some time was in this place; both great friends of the Archbishop. In the year 1557, the exiles here printed it with this title, *Defensio, &c. a Thoma Cranmero Martyre Scripta. Ab Authore in vinculis recognita et aucta.* Before it is a new preface to the reader, made, as it is thought, by Sir John Cheke, relating to the Archbishop and this his book, shewing how well-weighed and well-thought on this doctrine of the Sacrament was, before he published it, and that he let it not go abroad till he had diligently compared and pondered all Scriptures and ancient authors, and confirmed it at last by his blood. In the body of the book, the places where any enlargements are, are signified by an hand pointing thereunto. In the margent is often to be found this word *Object.* with certain numbers added: which numbers shew those places which Gardiner, under the name of Marcus Antonius, did endeavour to confute. The very original these English exiles here at Embden kept, as a great treasure, among them, and as a memorial of the holy martyr.

Printed again at Embden.

Autographon ejus in nostra apud Embdanos ecclesia pro thesauro quodam, et clariss. viri, sanctique Christi martyris monumento servamus. In Epist.

CHAP. XXV.
Anno 1551.

Cranmer's second book intended to be put into Latin. Fox. Epp. MSS.

Beſides this, the Archbiſhop fully intended to have his vindication of his book, impugned by Gardiner, put into Latin alſo; but he lived not to ſee that done. But care was taken of this buſineſs among the exiles: inſomuch that both Sir John Cheke and John Fox were buſied about it at the ſame time. But the former ſurceaſed, and left the whole work to Fox, then at Frankford, after he had finiſhed the firſt part. In this piece done by Cheke, John a Laſco had an hand: for he put in the Latin ſchool-terms, inſtead of more pure good Latin, which Cheke had uſed. And it was judged fit that ſuch words ſhould be uſed, where the Archbiſhop in his Engliſh had uſed them. And this Cheke and A Laſco themſelves wrote to Fox. Fox undertook the reſt, by the incitation and encouragement of P. Martyr, and of Grindal and Pilkington, both biſhops afterwards: who gave him directions for the tranſ- 262
lating; and, as doubts occurred concerning the ſenſe of certain matters in the book, as he met with them, he conſulted with theſe men for their judgments therein. Grindal, in one letter, bad him write a catalogue of all paſſages by him doubted of, and ſend it to him. Fox finiſhed his tranſlation in the year 1557, before June: for which he had a congratulatory letter from Grindal, who was his chief aſſiſtant and counſellor herein. The work was diſpatched to the preſs, at Baſil I ſuppoſe; and, when one part was printed, the cenſors of the preſs thought it would be better to defer an argument of that nature to better times, the controverſy having been bandied up and down ſo much already: but Froſcover undertook the printing of the whole book. Fox would do nothing of himſelf; but, leaving himſelf to the judgment of his learned brethren, to commit the work now to Froſcover, or no, Queen Mary's death, and the return of the exiles, I ſuppoſe, ſtopped further progreſs in this matter. The original manuſcript, under Fox's own hand, in very cleanly elegant Latin, I have lying by me: it bears this title; *De tota Sacramenti Euchariſtiæ cauſa Inſtitutionum Libri V. Autore D.* THOMA CRANMERO *Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi. Quibus et Stephani Garueri Epiſcopi Wintonienſis, et* SMYTHII *Doctoris Theologi, impugnationibus reſpondetur.*

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

Some notes of Cranmer concerning the ſacrament. Miſcellan. A.

And, that I may bring here together all that relates to Cranmer, as to this matter of the ſacrament, I muſt not omit what I ſaw in the Benet library. There is a thin note-book of this Archbiſhop's, with this title, wrote by his own hand, *De re Sacramentaria;* which I verily believe are his meditations and concluſions, when he ſet himſelf accurately to examine the ſacramental controverſy, and fell off from the opinion of the carnal preſence. The notes conſiſt of nothing but quotations out of ancient eccleſiaſtical authors about the Lord's Supper; interlined in many places by the Archbiſhop's pen. On the top of ſome of the pages are theſe ſentences writ by himſelf, being doctrines proveable out of the ſentences there produced, and tranſcribed.

Panis vocatur corpus Chriſti, et vinum ſanguis.

Panis eſt corpus meum, et vinum eſt ſanguis meus; figurativæ ſunt locutiones.

Quid ſignificet hæc figura, edere carnem, et bibere ſanguinem.

Mali non edunt et bibunt corpus et ſanguinem Domini.

Patres Vet. Teſtamenti edebant et bibebant Chriſtum, ſicut et nos.

Sicut in Euchariſtia, ita in Baptiſmo, præſens eſt Chriſtus.

Contra Tranſubſtantiationem.

After this, follow theſe writings of the Archbiſhop's own hand, (which Archbiſhop Parker elſewhere tranſcribed for his own ſatisfaction.)

Multa affirmant craſſi Papiſtæ, ſeu Capernaitæ, quæ neque Scriptura neque ullus veterum unquam dixerat. Viz.

Quod accidentia maneant ſine ſubjecto.

Quod accidentia panis et vini ſint Sacramenta: non panis et vinum.

263 *Quod panis non eſt figura, ſed accidentia panis.*

Quod Chriſtus non appellavit panem corpus ſuum.

Quod cum Chriſtus dixit, Hoc eſt corpus meum, pronomen Hoc non refertur ad panem, ſed ad corpus Chriſti.

Quod tot corpora Chriſti accipimus, aut toties corpus ejus accipimus, quoties, aut in quot partes, dentibus ſe amus panem.

CHAP. XXV. Anno 1551.

Thus having ſet down divers aſſertions of Papiſts, or *Capernaites*, as he ſtyled them, which neither Scripture nor ancient Fathers knew any thing of; his notes proceed to ſtate wherein Papiſts and Proteſtants diſagree.

Præcipua capita in quibus a Papiſticis diſſentimus.

Chriſtum Papiſtæ ſtatuunt in pane, nos in homine comedente.

Illi in comedentis ore, nos in toto homine.

Illi corpus Chriſti aiunt evolare, maſticato vel conſumpto pane; nos manere in homine dicimus, quamdiu membrum eſt Chriſti.

Illi in pane ſtatuunt per annum integrum, et diutius, ſi duret panis: nos in homine ſtatuimus inhabitare, quamdiu templum Dei fuerit.

Illorum ſententia, quod ad realem præſentiam attinet, non amplius edit homo quam bellua, neque magis ei prodeſt, quam cuivis animanti.

Martyr ſucceeds Cranmer in this province.

Thus God made uſe of this Archbiſhop, who was once one of the moſt violent aſſerters of the corporal preſence, to be the chiefeſt inſtrument of overthrowing it. But this good work required to be carried on after Cranmer's death: for great brags were made of Gardiner's ſecond book; and it was boaſted, that none dared to encounter this their Goliath. P. Martyr was thought the fitteſt man to ſucceed Cranmer in this province, to maintain the truth that began now to ſhine forth. He, overcome by the ſolicitation of friends, compoſed a book againſt Gardiner, as was ſaid before, and printed it at Zurick. Wherein, 1. He defended the arguments of our men; which had been collected together, and pretended to be confuted, by Gardiner's book. 2. He defended thoſe rules which Cranmer had put forth in his tract of the ſacrament. 3. He maintained thoſe anſwers, whereby the arguments of the adverſaries were wont to be refuted. And, 4. He aſſerted the juſt and true interpretation of certain places out of the Fathers, which Gardiner and his companions brought for themſelves and their errors.

Writes againſt Gardiner,

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

After this defence followed another by the ſame author, printed in the ſame town of Zurick, againſt two books of Dr. Rich. Smith, concerning the ſingle life of prieſts, and monaſtick vows: which he wrote at Lovain againſt Martyr. For when Martyr had read at Oxford upon 1 Corinthians, chap. vii. where the Apoſtle ſpeaks much of virginity and matrimony, (the notes of which readings Smith had very diligently taken, being conſtantly preſent at them;) from thence he compoſed two books, not ſo ſtrong as malicious, *Of the Celibacy of Prieſts*, and *Of Vows*: deſigning thereby to confute Martyr's arguments: which he therefore thought fit to vindicate. In this book he not only anſwered Smith's arguments, but whatever elſe he could meet with upon that
264 ſubject. But it was thought to be a very improper undertaking, and proved cauſe of mirth, that ſo filthy a fellow as Smith was known to be, and once taken in the act of adultery, ſhould write a book of prieſtly chaſtity. Which occaſioned theſe verſes made by Laur. Humfrey;

And Smith.

Haud ſatis affabre tractans fabrilia Smithus,
Librum de vita cælibe compoſuit, &c.
Dumque pudicitiam, dum vota monaſtica laudat,
Stuprat, ſacra notans fœdera conjugii.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Duke of Somerſet's death. New Biſhops.

The Duke of Somerſet's death.

THE Archbiſhop of Canterbury this year loſt the Duke of Somerſet, whom he much valued, and who had been a great aſſiſtant to him in the reformation of the church, and a true friend to it. His violent death exceedingly grieved the good Archbiſhop, both becauſe he knew it would prove a great let to religion, and was brought about by evil men, to the ſhedding of innocent blood, for the furthering the ends of ambition: and begat in him fears and jealouſies of the King's life. It is very remarkable what I meet with in one of my manuſcripts. There was a

Inter Foxii MSS.

woman, fomewhat before the laſt apprehenſion of the Duke, wife of one Woocock of Pool in Dorſetſhire, that gave out, that there was a voice that followed her, which ſounded theſe words always in her ears; "He whom the King did "beſt truſt ſhould deceive him, and work treaſon againſt "him." After ſhe had a good while reported this, Sir William Barkley, who married the Lord Treaſurer Wincheſter's daughter, ſent her up to London to the council, with two of his ſervants. She was not long there, but, without acquainting the Duke of Somerſet, whom it ſeemed moſt to concern, (he being the perſon whom the King moſt truſted,) was ſent home again with her purſe full of money. And, after her coming home, ſhe was more buſy in that talk than before. So that ſhe came to a market-town called Wimborn, four miles from Pool, where ſhe reported, that the voice continued following her as before. This looked, by the circumſtances, like a practice of ſome popiſh prieſts, accuſtomed to dealing in ſuch frauds, to make the world the more inclinable to believe the guilt of the good Duke, which Somerſet's enemies were now framing againſt him. And ſo ſome of the wiſer ſort thereabouts did ſeem to think; for there were two merchants of Pool that heard her, and took a note of her words, and came to the houſe of Hancock, miniſter of Pool, who was known to the Duke, counſelling him to certify my Lord of her. Which Hancock accordingly did, and came to Sion, where the Duke then was, and told him of the words. He added, "Whom the King doth beſt truſt we do "not know, but that all the King's loving ſubjects did "think that his Grace was moſt worthy to be beſt truſted; "and that his Grace had been in trouble: and that all "the King's loving ſubjects did pray for his Grace to the 265
"Almighty to preſerve him, that he might never come in "the like trouble again."

Then the Duke aſked him whether he had a note of the words: which when he had received from Hancock, he ſaid to him, ſuſpecting the plot, "Ah! ſirrah, this is "ſtrange, that theſe things ſhould come before the coun-"ſellors, and I not hear of it. I am of the council alſo." He aſked Hancock, before whom of the council this

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

matter was brought? who replied, he knew not certain, but as he ſuppoſed. The Duke aſked him, whom he ſuppoſed? He anſwered, Before the Lord Treaſurer, becauſe his ſon-in-law, Sir W. Barkley, ſent her up. The Duke ſubjoined, It was like to be ſo. This was three weeks before his laſt apprehenſion. This I extract out of Mr. Hancock's own narration of himſelf and his troubles: to which he added, that, at his firſt apprehenſion, the report was, that the Duke, what time as he was fetched out of Windſor Caſtle, having the King by the hand, ſhould ſay, "It is not I that "they ſhoot at; this is the mark that they ſhoot at;" meaning the King. Which by the ſequel proved too true. For that good, godly, and virtuous Prince lived not long after the death of that good Duke.

Winchester ſuppoſed to be in the plot.

Indeed it ſeemed to have been a plot of the Papiſts, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter at the bottom of it. This is certain, when, in October 1549, the Duke was brought to the Tower, the Biſhop was then born in hand he ſhould be ſet at liberty: of which he had ſuch confidence, that he prepared himſelf new apparel againſt the time he ſhould come out; thinking verily to have come abroad within eight or ten days. But finding himſelf diſappointed, he wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the lords within a month after, to put them in remembrance, as Stow writes.

Articles againſt the Duke.

The articles that were drawn up againſt the Duke, upon his ſecond apprehenſion and trial, were in number twenty, which I ſhall not repeat here, as I might out of a manuſcript thereof, becauſe they may be ſeen in Fox. But I do obſerve one of the articles is not printed in his book, namely, the tenth, which ran thus: "Alſo, you are charged, that "you have divers and many times, both openly and pri-"vately, ſaid and affirmed, That the nobles and gentlemen "were the only cauſes of the dearth of things, whereby "the people roſe, and did reform things themſelves." Whence it appears, that one cauſe of the hatred of the nobility and gentry againſt him was, becauſe he ſpake againſt their debauches and exceſſes, covetouſneſs and oppreſſions. But that which I chiefly obſerve here is, that the draught of theſe articles, which I have ſeen, were made by Biſhop

Gardiner, being his very hand, unleſs I am much miſtaken. So that he, I ſuppoſe, was privately dealt with and conſulted (being then a priſoner in the Tower) to be a party in aſſiſting and carrying on this direful plot againſt the Duke, to take away his life: notwithſtanding his outward friendſhip and fair correſpondence in letters with the ſaid Duke. But Gardiner was looked upon to be a good manager of accuſations; and he was ready enough to be employed here, that he might put to his hand in taking off one that was ſuch a great inſtrument of promoting the reformation. 266

CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1551.

What he is blamed for.

He is generally charged for the great ſpoil of churches and chapels; defacing ancient tombs and monuments, and pulling down the bells in pariſh-churches, and ordering only one bell in a ſteeple, as ſufficient to call the people together. Which ſet the commonalty almoſt into a rebellion.

The new book of Common Prayer eſtabliſhed.

As the Archbiſhop the laſt year had procured amendments and alterations in the book of public prayers, and had conſulted therein with the two learned foreign divines, Bucer and Martyr; ſo this year, in January, an act was made by the parliament for authorizing the new book, and obliging the ſubjects to be preſent at the reading of it. In this book the general Confeſſion was added, and the Abſolution. At the beginning of the ſecond ſervice was added the recital of the Ten Commandments, with the ſhort ejaculation to be ſaid between each commandment. Something was left out in the conſecration of the ſacrament, that ſeemed to favour a corporal preſence. Several rites were laid aſide, as that of oil in confirmation, and extreme unction, and prayer for the dead, which was before uſed in the communion-office, and that of burial: together with the change and aboliſhing of ſome other things that were offenſive or ſuperſtitious: as may be ſeen by thoſe that will take the pains to compare the two books, the one printed in the year 1549, and the other 1552. And this was brought about by the great and long diligence and care of our pious Archbiſhop, and no queſtion to his great joy and ſatisfaction: ſo that I look upon that but as an improbable report, that was carried about in Frankford in thoſe unſeemly branglings

BOOK II. among the Engliſh exiles there, that Bullinger ſhould ſay, "That Cranmer had drawn up a book of prayers an hundred times more perfect than that which was then in being; but the ſame could not take place, for that he was matched with ſuch a wicked clergy and convocation, with other enemies." But as his authority was now very great, ſo there was undoubtedly a great deference paid to it, as alſo to his wiſdom and learning, by the reſt of the divines appointed to that work: ſo that as nothing was by them inſerted into the Liturgy but by his good allowance and approbation, ſo neither would they reject or oppoſe what he thought fit ſhould be put in or altered.

Anno 1551. Troubles at Frankford.

Coverdale made Biſhop of Exon.

The learning, piety, and good deſerts of Miles Coverdale, in tranſlating the holy Scriptures into the Engliſh tongue, and in a conſtant preaching of the Goſpel, and ſticking to the true profeſſion for many a year; and withal, very probably, their ancient acquaintance in Cambridge, were reaſons that made our Archbiſhop a particular friend to him. When the Lord Ruſſel was ſent down againſt the rebels in the weſt, he was attended by Coverdale to preach among them. Coverdale afterwards became coadjutor to Veyzy, the Biſhop of Exeter, who ſeldom reſided, and took little care of his dioceſe. But this year, whether voluntarily, or by ſome order, he reſigned up his biſhopriek, having firſt greatly ſpoiled it of its revenues. And when ſome wiſe and bold perſon, and excellent preacher, was found extremely needful to be ſent thither to inſpect the clergy and eccleſiaſtic matters in thoſe parts, the late rebellion having been raiſed chiefly by prieſts in hatred to the religion, heating and diſaffecting the minds of the common people, Coverdale was judged a very fit perſon to ſucceed in that charge. Being now Biſhop elect of Exon, he had long attended at court to get his matters diſpatched; namely, the doing of his homage, and the obtaining a ſuit to be excuſed the payment of his firſt fruits, being but a poor man. But ſuch at that time were the great and urgent affairs of the ſtate, or the ſecret hinderers of the Goſpel, that he found nothing but delays. So that he was forced to apply himſelf unto his friend the Archbiſhop, to forward his buſineſs: who forthwith ſent his letters to Secretary Cecyl,

267

making Coverdale himself the bearer, entreating him to use his interest to get this Bishop dispatched, and that with speed: urging this for his reason, (becoming his paternal care over his province,) that so he might without further delay go down into the western parts, which had great need of him. And also because he was minded, on the 30th of August, to consecrate him and the Bishop of Rochester, [Scory,] according to the King's mandate. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1551.

This Scory was at first preferred by the Archbishop to be one of the six preachers at Canterbury: and always continued firm to the purity of religion, and endured trouble for the good and wholesome doctrine that he preached; having been presented and complained of, both in the spiritual courts, and to the justices at their sessions, when the six Articles were in force. He was a married man, and so deprived at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, fled beyond sea, and was superintendent of the English congregation at Embden in Friezland. There, in the year 1555, he wrote and printed *A comfortable Epistle unto all the Faithful that be in Prison, or in any other Trouble for the defence of God's Truth. Wherein he doth as well by the promises of Mercy, as also by the Examples of divers holy Martyrs, comfort, encourage, and strengthen them patiently, for Christ's Sake, to suffer the manifold cruel and most tyrannous Persecutions of Antichristian Tormentors.* As the book bears title. Scory Bishop elect of Rochester.

There were divers bishoprics vacant this year: as that of Lincoln by the death of Holbech. The Archbishop deputed the spiritualties to John Pope, LL. B. and Chancellor of that church. The church commending unto the Archbishop this Pope, and two more; *viz.* John Prin, LL. D. Subdean of the church, and Christopher Massingberde, LL. B. Archdeacon of Stow. So he chose the first: but yet he committed a special trust to Taylor, the Dean of Lincoln, (whom he knew to be right to religion,) sending a commission fiduciary to him, before Pope entered upon his office, to give the said Pope his oath, "legally and faithfully to perform his office committed to him by the "Archbishop, and to answer to the said Archbishop for all "obventions coming to him by virtue of his jurisdiction and "office; and that he should not, by malice or wrong, The Archbishop appoints a guardian of the spiritualties of Lincoln. Cranm. Regist.

BOOK II. Anno 1551. "fqueeze the fubjects of the King, and of that diocefs, "whether clerks or laicks; that he fhould not knowingly "grieve them in their eftates or perfons: and that he fhall "abftain from oppreffions, extortions, and unlawful exac- 268 "tions: and that he fhall renounce the Bifhop of Rome his "ufurped jurifdiction and authority, according to the fta- "tutes of parliament." And of all this he wrote a letter to the faid Pope, fignifying that he required fuch an oath of him to be taken before the Dean. The tenor of the Archbifhop's letter to the Dean went on further, "requiring him by "his found counfel, fingular prudence, and by the affiftance "of his fincere judgment, to be prefent with him in any "hard cafes, and of great moment; and that he would not "be wanting to him in any matters of that fort, being a "perfon of that knowledge in facred and profane learning, "of that prudence, circumfpection, and dexterity in manag- "ing bufinefs. And fo finally joined him with Pope to per- "form all this pioufly and catholicly, according to the rule "of evangelic religion, and the exigency of the laws and "ftatutes of this kingdom." And deputed him his vice-gerent. This letter was dated at Croydon, the 20th of Auguft. This commiffion feemed to be fomewhat extraordinary: the occafion whereof might be, becaufe the Archbifhop did not confide in this Chancellor of the church, fufpecting his religion, and compliance with the King's proceedings, therefore he thought good to aflociate him with Taylor the Dean, of whom he was well aflured.

And of Wigorn. The church of Worcefter became alfo vacant by the deprivation of Hethe the Bifhop. The Archbifhop committed the fpiritualties thereof to John Barlo, Dean of the faid church, and Roland Taylor, LL. D. his domeftic chaplain. Thefe he conftituted his officials to exercife all epifcopal jurifdiction. This commiffion was dated at Lambeth, Jan. 10, 1554, by an error of the fcribe for 1551, as appears by a certificate fent from the church to that Archbifhop, fignifying the vacation of it.

Cranm. Regift.

And of Chichefter. Upon the vacancy of the church of Chichefter by the deprivation of Day, the Archbifhop made John Worthial, Archdeacon of Chichefter, and Robert Taylor, LL. B. Dean of the deanery of South Malling, his officials. This com-

miſſion to them, dated November 3, 1551, was to viſit, &c. CHAP. XXVI.

Anno 1551.

Upon the vacancy of the church of Hereford by the death of Skip, late Biſhop there, the ſpiritualties were committed to Hugh Coren, LL. D. Dean of that church, and Rich. Cheny, D. D. Archdeacon of Hereford. Their commiſſion was to viſit, &c. And of Hereford.

Upon the vacancy of the biſhoprick of Bangor, either by the death of Bulkly the Biſhop, or his reſignation upon his blindneſs, the Archbiſhop made his commiſſaries, Griffin Leyſon, his principal Chancellor and Official; Rowland Merick, a Canon of St. David's; and Geofrey Glynn, LL. DD. The church of Rocheſter alſo became this year vacant by the tranſlation of Scory to Chicheſter. In theſe vacancies the biſhopricks were lamentably pilled, by hungry courtiers, of the revenues belonging to them. And of Bangor.

This year Biſhop Hoper was by the council diſpatched down (as was ſaid before) into his dioceſe: where things were much out of order, and Popery had great footing; and therefore it wanted ſuch a ſtirring man as he was. That he might do the more good, he had the authority of the lords of the council to back him, by a commiſſion granted to him and others. He brought moſt of the pariſh-prieſts and curates from their old ſuperſtitions and errors concerning the doctrine of the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper. The recantation of one of them of more note, named Phelps, the incumbent of Ciciter, which he made publickly and ſubſcribed, may be ſeen in the Appendix. Hoper viſits his dioceſe. 269 No. LXIII.

This year there happened two learned conferences in Latin, privately managed, about the corporeal preſence in the ſacrament. The one on the 25th of November, in the houſe of Sir William Cecyl, Secretary of State, performed by the ſaid Cecyl, Sir John Cheke; Horne, Dean of Durham; Whitehead, and Grindal, on the proteſtant ſide: and Feckenham and Yong on the popiſh. But firſt, before they began, Cecyl under his ſolemn proteſtation aſſured them, that every man ſhould have free liberty to ſpeak his mind, and that none ſhould receive any damage or incur any danger. Cheke began by propounding this queſtion; *Quis eſſet verus et germanus ſenſus verborum Cœnæ*, Hoc eſt corpus Two diſputations concerning the ſacrament.

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

meum? *Num quem verba ſenſu grammatico accepta præ ſe ferebant, an aliud quiddam?* To whom Feckenham anſwered. There were preſent, beſides thoſe that diſputed, theſe noble and learned perſons; the Lord Ruſſel, Sir Anthony Coke, Mr. Hales, Mr. Wroth, Mr. Frogmartin, Mr. Knolles, Mr. Harrington. The ſecond diſputation was December 3. following, in Mr. Moriſin's houſe: where were preſent the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Rutland, the Lord Ruſſel, and thoſe above named, and Watſon added on the Papiſts' ſide. Then Cheke again propounded the queſtion, "Whether the words of the ſupper are to be underſtood in "a grammatical, or in a figurative ſenſe?" To which Watſon reſponded. Both theſe diſputations are too large for this place, but they are ſet down in one of the manuſcript volumes of the Benet library.

Miſcellan. C.

Dr. Redman dies.

In November died Dr. John Redman, Maſter of Trinity college in Cambridge, and one of the great lights of that univerſity, for the bringing in ſolid learning among the ſtudents: a prebendary of the church of Weſtminſter; and who, in the year 1549, aſſiſted in the compiling the Engliſh book of Common Prayer, and preached a ſermon upon the learned Bucer's death the day following his funeral. He was a perſon of extraordinary reputation among all for his great learning and reading, and profound knowledge in divinity: ſo that the greateſt divines gave a mighty deference to his judgment. And therefore, when he lay ſick at Weſtminſter, many learned men repaired to him, deſiring to know his laſt judgment of ſeveral points, then ſo much controverted. And he was very ready to give them ſatisfaction. Among the reſt that came, were Richard Wilks, Maſter of Chriſt's college, Cambridge; Alexander Noel, afterwards Dean of Paul's; and Yong, a man of fame in Cambridge for his diſputing againſt Bucer about juſtification. In theſe conferences with theſe learned men, he called the ſee of Rome *ſentina malorum*, "a ſink of evils;" he ſaid, "that pur-"gatory, as the ſchoolmen taught it, was ungodly; and that "there was no ſuch kind of purgatory as they fancied. "That the offering up the ſacrament in maſſes and trentals "for the ſins of the dead, was ungodly. That the wicked

Becon's Reports. Fox's Acts.

270 "are not partakers of the body of Chriſt, but receive the

CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1551.

"outward ſacrament only. That it ought not to be carried "about in proceſſion. That nothing that is ſeen in the ſa "crament, or perceived with the outward ſenſe, is to be "worſhipped. That we receive not Chriſt's body *corpo-* "*raliter*, groſsly, like other meats, but ſo *ſpiritualiter*, that "nevertheleſs *vere*, *truly*. That there was not any good "ground in the old doctors for tranſubſtantiation, as ever "he could perceive; nor could he ſee what could be an- "ſwered to the objections againſt it. That prieſts might by "the law of God marry wives. That this propoſition, *Faith* "*only juſtifies*, ſo that this faith ſignify a true lively faith, "reſting in Chriſt, and embracing him, is a true, godly, "ſweet, and comfortable doctrine. That our works cannot "deſerve the kingdom of God. And," he ſaid, "that it "troubled him that he had ſo much ſtrove againſt juſtifica- "tion by faith only." A treatiſe whereof he compoſed, which was printed at Antwerp, after his death, in the year 1555. He ſaid alſo to Yong, "that *conſenſus eccleſiæ* was "but a weak ſtaff to lean to; and exhorted him to read the "Scriptures, for there was that which would comfort him, "when he ſhould be in ſuch a caſe as he was then in." One aſked him concerning the doctrine of the ſchool-doc- tors, that bread remained not after conſecration. He re- plied, "there was none of the ſchool-doctors knew what "*conſecratio* did mean." And, pauſing awhile, ſaid, It was *tota actio*, *the whole action* in miniſtering the ſacrament, as Chriſt did inſtitute it. After the conference with him was ended, Yong, retiring into another chamber, ſaid to Wilks, that Dr. Redman ſo moved him, that whereas he was before in ſuch opinion of certain things, that he would have burned and loſt his life for them; now he doubted of them. "But I "ſee," ſaid he, "a man ſhall know more and more by pro- "ceſs of time, and by reading and hearing others. And "Mr. Dr. Redman's ſaying ſhall cauſe me to look more di- "ligently for them." Ellis Lomas, Redman's ſervant, ſaid, he knew his maſter had declared to King Henry, that faith only juſtifieth, but that he thought that doctrine was not to be taught the people, leſt they ſhould be negligent to do good works. All this I have related of this divine, that I may in ſome meaſure preſerve the memory of one of the

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

learnedeſt men of his time; and lay up the dying words of a Papiſt, ſignifying ſo plainly his diſlike and diſallowance of many of their doctrines.

The ſweating ſickneſs.

The ſweating ſickneſs breaking out this year in great violence, (whereby the two ſons of the Duke of Suffolk were taken off,) letters from the council, dated July 18, were ſent to all the biſhops, to perſuade the people to prayer, and to ſee God better ſerved.

The Archbiſhop and others appointed to reform the eccleſiaſtical laws.

It being enacted, 1549, that the King might, during three years, appoint ſixteen ſpiritual men, and ſixteen temporal, to examine the old eccleſiaſtical laws, and to compile a body of eccleſiaſtical laws, to be in force in the room of the old: this third year, October 6, a commiſſion was iſſued out to the ſame number of perſons, authorizing them to reform the canon laws; that is to ſay, to eight biſhops, eight divines, eight civil lawyers, and eight common. Whoſe names, as they occur in an original, are as follow:

271

BISHOPS.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Ely, Exeter, Gloceſter, Bath, Rocheſter.

DIVINES.

Mr. Taylor of Lincoln; Cox, Almoner; Parker of Cambridge, Latimer, Cook, [Sir Anthony, I ſuppoſe,] Peter Martyr, Cheke, Johannes a Laſco.

CIVILIANS.

Mr. Peter, Cecyl, Sir Tho. Smith, Taylor of Hadeligh, Dr. May, Mr. Traheron, Dr. Lyel, Mr. Skinner.

LAWYERS.

Juſtice Hales, Juſtice Bromly, Goodrick, Goſnal, Stamford, Carel, Lucas, Brook, Recorder of London.

The method they obſerved.

It was ſo ordered, that this number ſhould be divided into four diſtinct claſſes, or companies; each to conſiſt of two biſhops, two divines, two civilians, and two common lawyers. And to each company were aſſigned their ſet parts: which when one company had finiſhed, it was tranſmitted to the other companies, to be by them all well conſidered and inſpected. But out of all the number of two and thirty, eight eſpecially were ſelected, from each rank two; *viz.* out of

the bishops, the Archbishop and the Bishop of Ely; out of the divines, Cox and Martyr; out of the civilians, Taylor and May; out of the common-lawyers, Lucas and Goodrick: to whom a new commission was made, November 9, for the first forming of the work, and preparation of the matter. And the Archbishop supervised the whole work. This work they plied close this winter: but, lest they should be straitened for time, the parliament gave the King three years longer for accomplishing this affair. So, Feb. 2, a letter was sent from the council to make a new commission to the Archbishop, and to the other bishops and learned men, civilians and lawyers, for the establishment of the ecclesiastical laws, according to the act of parliament made in the last session. This was a very noble enterprize, and well worthy the thoughts of our excellent Archbishop: who with indefatigable pains had been, both in this and the last King's reign, labouring to bring this matter about; and he did his part, for he brought the work to perfection. But it wanted the King's ratification, which was delayed, partly by business, and partly by enemies. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1551.

Bishops consecrated.

August the 30th, John Scory, Poinet being translated to Winchester, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, at Croyden, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Nicolas Bishop of London, and John Suffragan of Bedford. Scory. Cranm. Regist.

Miles Coverdale was at the same time and place consecrated Bishop of Exon, all with their surplices and copes, and Coverdale so habited also. Coverdale.

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

272

CHAP. XXVII.

The Articles of Religion.

The Articles of Religion framed and publiſhed.

OUR Archbiſhop, and certain of the biſhops and other divines, but whom by name I find not, were this year chiefly buſied in compoſing and preparing a book of Articles of Religion; which was to contain what ſhould be publickly owned as the ſum of the doctrine of the church of England. This the Archbiſhop had long before this bore in his mind, as excellently ſerviceable for the creating of a concord and quietneſs among men, and for the putting an end to contentions and diſputes in matters of religion. Theſe articles the Archbiſhop was the penner, or at leaſt the great director of, with the aſſiſtance, as is very probable, of Biſhop Ridley. And ſo he publickly owned afterwards, in his anſwer to certain interrogatories put to him by Queen Mary's commiſſioners; *viz.* that the Catechiſm, the book of Articles, and the book againſt Wincheſter, were his doings. Theſe Articles were in number forty-two, and were agreed to in the convocation 1552. And in the year 1553. they were publiſhed by the King's authority both in Latin and Engliſh. After they were finiſhed, he laboured to have the clergy ſubſcribe them: but againſt their wills he compelled none; though afterwards ſome charged him falſely to do ſo: which he utterly denied, as he declared before the ſaid Queen's commiſſioners. But to enter into ſome particulars concerning ſo eminent a matter eccleſiaſtical as this was.

Fox.

The Archbiſhop's diligence in them.

In the year 1551, the King and his privy-council ordered the Archbiſhop to frame a book of Articles of Religion for the preſerving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in this church, that, being finiſhed, they might be ſet forth by public authority. The Archbiſhop, in obedience hereunto, drew up a ſet of Articles, which were delivered to certain other biſhops to be inſpected and ſubſcribed, I ſuppoſe, by them. Before them they lay until this year 1552. Then, May 2, a letter was ſent from the council to our Archbiſhop, to ſend the Articles that were delivered the laſt year

to the bishops, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any public authority, according to the minutes. The Archbishop accordingly sent the Articles, and his answer, unto the lords of the council. In September I find the Articles were again in his hands. Then he set the book in a better order, and put titles upon each of the Articles, and some additions, for the better perfecting of the work, and supply of that which lacked. And so transmitted the book again from Croydon, September 19, to Sir William Cecyl and Sir John Cheke, the one the King's principal secretary, and the other his tutor, being the two great patrons of the reformation at the court: desiring them together to take these Articles into their serious considerations; for he well knew them to be both wise and good men, and very well seen in divine learning. And he referred it to their wisdoms, whether they thought best to move the King's Majesty therein before his coming to court; as though he conceived the King might make some demur in so weighty 273
an affair, till he should consult with the Metropolitan, in order to the coming to a resolution; or that there were some great persons about the King, that might cast some scruples and objections in his mind concerning it, which he by his presence might prevent, or be ready at hand to resolve. Cecyl and Cheke thought it more convenient the Archbishop should offer them to the King himself. So, coming to court soon after, he delivered the book to the King, and moved him for their publishing and due observation. And so, leaving them before the King and council, they were then again delivered unto certain of the King's chaplains, who made some alterations. For I find that, Council-Book.
"October 2, a letter was directed to Mr. Harley, Bill, "Horn, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, to consider certain Articles "(which must be these Articles of Religion) exhibited to the "King's Majesty, to be subscribed by all such as shall be "admitted to be preachers or ministers in any part of the "realm; and to make report of their opinions touching the "same."

CHAP. XXVII. Anno 1552.

The time of the year declined now towards the latter end of November; and the Archbishop being retired down from Croydon to his house at Ford near Canterbury, the privy-

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

council, November 20, diſpatched, by a meſſenger, the Articles unto him to be reviewed, and for his laſt hand, that they might be preſented before the convocation, and allowed there; and ſo be publiſhed by the royal authority. The Archbiſhop received the book and letter from the council, November 23. And, making ſome notes upon it, enclofed them in a letter to the lords, and ſent them, together with the book, the next day; beſeeching them to prevail with the King, that all biſhops ſhould have authority to cauſe their reſpective clergy to ſubſcribe it: and "then he truſted, "(as he wrote,) that ſuch a concord and quietneſs in reli-"gion would ſoon follow, as otherwiſe would not be in "many years. And thereby God would be glorified, the "truth advanced, and their lordſhips rewarded by him, as "the ſetters forth of his true word and Goſpel." This pious letter may be read in the Appendix.

No. LXIV.

The Archbiſhop retires to Ford.

The King went a progreſs this ſummer; and the Archbiſhop retired to Croydon: where I find him in July, Auguſt, and September. And thence, October 11, he went to Ford, to ſpend ſome time in his dioceſe. Now he was abſent from the court, and the King abroad at that diſtance that he could not frequently wait upon him, and be preſent at the council; his enemies were at work to bring him into trouble, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Perſons nominated for Iriſh Biſhopricks.

Conſulted with for fit perſons to fill the Iriſh ſees.

THERE were certain biſhopricks in Ireland about this time vacant; one whereof was that of Armagh: and it was thought convenient to have them filled by divines out of England. In the month of Auguſt the Archbiſhop was con-

274 ſulted with for this; that ſo, by the influence of very wiſe and learned men, and good preachers, the Goſpel might be the better propagated in that dark region. But becauſe it was foreſeen to be difficult to procure any Engliſhmen, ſo endowed, to go over thither, therefore Secretary Cecyl,

being then with the King in his progreſs, ſent a letter to the Archbiſhop at Croyden, to nominate ſome worthy perſons for thoſe preferments, and whom he thought would be willing to undertake them. He returned him the names of four; *viz.* Mr. Whitehead of Hadley, Mr. Turner of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Roſſe, and Sir Robert Wiſdome. He ſaid, "he knew many others in England that would be "meet perſons for thoſe places, but very few that would "gladly be perſuaded to go thither:" for it ſeems the Engliſh were never very fond of living in Ireland. But he added concerning theſe four which he had named, "that he "thought they, being ordinarily called, for conſcience-ſake "would not refuſe to beſtow the talent committed unto "them, whereſoever it ſhould pleaſe the King's Majeſty to "appoint them." He recommended likewiſe a fifth perſon for this promotion, one [1]Mr. Whitacre, a wiſe and well-learned man, (as he characters him,) who was chaplain to the Biſhop of Wincheſter [Poynet.] But he doubted whether he would be perſuaded to take it upon him. CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1552.

It may not be amiſs to make ſome inquiry who and what thoſe four before-mentioned perſons were. Some account of the four divines nominated by him for the Archbiſhoprick of Armagh.

Mr. Whithead was an exile in Queen Mary's reign, and paſtor of the Engliſh congregation at Frankford. And at the conference in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's government, he was one of the nine diſputants on the proteſtant ſide, and one of the appointed eight to reviſe the Service-Book. The writer of the *Troubles at Frankford* mentions three, *viz.* Coverdale, Turner, and this Whitehead; of whom he ſaith, "that they were the moſt ancient preachers "of the Goſpel, and the moſt ancient fathers of this our "country; and that from their pens, as well as their "mouths, moſt of Queen Elizabeth's divines and biſhops "firſt received the light of the Goſpel." Why Cranmer ſhould ſtyle him Whithead of Hadley, I do not apprehend; ſeeing Dr. Rowland Taylor, his chaplain, was now Parſon of Hadley, who not long after was there burnt: and one Mr. Whithead.

[1] I ſuppoſe this might be a ſlip of the Archbiſhop's pen or memory, writing Whitacre for Goodacre, who afterwards was placed in that Iriſh ſee, and had been Poynet's chaplain.

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

Yeomans was Taylor's curate there, who alſo was afterwards burnt at Norwich. But I ſuppoſe this was ſome other Hadley.

Mr. Turner.

I find two about this time bearing the name of Turner; both eminent men, and preachers: the one was named William Turner, a doctor in phyſic, and greatly befriended by Sir John Cheke and Sir William Cecyl. This man, a native of Northumberland, was the firſt Engliſhman that compiled an herbal; which was the groundwork of that which Gerard laid the laſt hand unto. He was a retainer to the Duke of Somerſet in Edward the Sixth's time, and was phyſician in ordinary to his family: and the year before this, *viz.* 1551, I find him Dean of Wells. The other was Richard Turner, a Staffordſhire man, in former time Curate of Chartam in Kent, and commonly called Turner of Canterbury, living in the family of Mr. Morice, the Archbiſhop's ſecretary, (of whom afterwards,) who held the impropriation of that parſonage, and had preſented this man to the
275 vicarage. For his free and bold preaching againſt popiſh errors, and aſſerting the King's ſupremacy, and for the extraordinary ſucceſs of his miniſtry in bringing multitudes of people in thoſe parts out of ignorance and ſuperſtition, he was put to much trouble and danger. He was firſt complained of to the King: and being brought up, the Archbiſhop, and other eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, were commanded to examine him upon certain articles. But, by the ſecret favour of the Archbiſhop, and his own prudent anſwers, he was then diſcharged. Soon after, upon ſome falſe reports told of him, King Henry was ſo offended, that he ſent for the Archbiſhop, willing him to have him whipt out of the country. But the Archbiſhop pacified the King, and ſent him home the ſecond time. Afterwards, a third time, his old enemies, the popiſh clergy, got him convented before the privy-council, and committed for doctrines preached by him before he came into Kent. The Archbiſhop being then down in his dioceſe, Turner was ſent back to him with an order to recant: to whom, when his faſt friend and patron, Mr. Morice, had applied himſelf in his behalf, the Archbiſhop himſelf, being now under ſome cloud, dared not to interpoſe, becauſe, as he then ſaid, it had been put into

CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1552.

the King's head that he was the great favourer and maintainer of all the hereties in the kingdom. Morice then, that he might prevent this recantation, if poſſible, which would have been ſuch a reflection to the doctrine he before had preached, addreſſed his letters to Sir Anthony Denny, gentleman of the King's bed-chamber, and Sir William Butts, his phyſician; relating at large Turner's caſe. And by their means the King became better informed of the man, and, in fine, commanded him to be retained as a faithful ſubject. This ſtory is at large related by Fox. And this I judge to be that Turner, whom the Archbiſhop nominated for Ireland, having lived long in his dioceſe, and ſo well known to him; and whom he had, I ſuppoſe, removed to Canterbury, to a prebend, or ſome other preferment there. Here he did this remarkable and bold piece of ſervice, that when, about three years paſt, the rebels were up in Kent, he then preached twice in the camp near Canterbury: for which the rebels were going to hang him. But God preſerved him. In Queen Mary's time he fled to Baſil; where he expounded upon St. James, the Hebrews, and the Epheſians, to the exiles there: when James Pilkington expounded Eccleſiaſtes, and both Epiſtles of Peter, and the Galatians; and Bentham, the Acts of the Apoſtles. Bale's Cent

Thomas Roſſe, or Roſe, was alſo as memorable a man; very eminent both for his preachings and ſufferings. He was a weſt-country man, but by providence was removed into Suffolk: and at Hadley had preached againſt purgatory and worſhipping images, about the time that Bilney and Latimer did the like in Cambridge, (which was five and twenty or thirty years paſt;) whereby he had brought many to the knowledge of the truth in that town. About the year 1532, when certain perſons, out of their zeal againſt idolatry, had ſtolen by night the rood out of the church at Dover Court in Eſſex, for which, being found guilty of felony, they were hanged; Roſe ſeemed to have been privy hereunto; for with the rood they conveyed away the ſlippers, the coat, and the tapers belonging to it: which coat Roſe burnt. Whether for this, or ſome other thing, he was complained of to the council, and brought before them, and by the Biſhop of Lincoln was committed to priſon: where Thomas Roſſe, or Rote. 276

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

he lay for ſome days and nights with both his legs in an high pair of ſtocks, his body lying along on the ground. Thence he was removed to Lambeth, in the year that Cranmer was conſecrated, (which was 1533,) who ſet him at liberty. Afterward he was admitted by Crumwel to be his chaplain, that thereby he might get a licence to preach. After various toſſings from place to place, for ſafety of his life, he fled into Flanders and Germany, and came to Zurick, and remained with Bullinger; and to Baſil, where he was entertained by Grineus. After ſome time he returned back into England: but was glad to fly beyond ſea again. Three years after, in his voyage back to his own country again, he was taken priſoner by ſome French, and carried into Diep, where he was ſpoiled of all he had. His ranſom was ſoon after paid by a well-diſpoſed perſon, who alſo brought him over into England. Then the Earl of Suſſex received him, and his wife and child, privately into his houſe. But when this was known, the Earl ſent him a ſecret letter to be gone: and ſo he lurked in London till the death of King Henry VIII. King Edward gave him the living of Weſt Ham, near London, in Eſſex. Being deprived upon Queen Mary's coming to the crown, he was ſometime preacher to a congregation in London. But was taken at one of their meetings in Bow-church-yard. Which, I ſuppoſe, was in the year 1555. For then he was in the Tower: and thence, in the month of May, by the council's letters, he was delivered to the Sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the Biſhop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to recant, or to proceed againſt him according to law. Much impriſonment and many examinations he underwent, both from the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich; but eſcaped at laſt, by a great providence, beyond ſea, where he tarried till the death of Queen Mary. And after theſe his haraſſings up and down in the world, he was at laſt, in Queen Elizabeth's happy reign, quietly ſettled at Luton in Bedfordſhire, where he was preacher, and lived to a very great age.

Robert Wiſdome.

The fourth was Robert Wiſdome, a man eminent, as the reſt, both for his exemplary converſation and for his preaching, together with his ſufferings attending thereon. In

Henry the Eighth his reign he was a perſon of fame among the profeſſors of the Goſpel in the ſouth parts of the nation: whence, after many painful labours and perſecutions, he fled into the north; as did divers other preachers of the pure religion in thoſe times. There in Staffordſhire he was one of thoſe that were entertained by John Old, a pious profeſſor, and harbourer of good men: and Thomas Becon was another, who was taken up with Bradford in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and committed to the Tower. Of this Old the ſaid Becon, in a [m] treatiſe of his, printed in Edward the Sixth his reign, gives this character: "That he was to him and Wiſdom, as Jaſon was to "Paul and Silas: he received us joyfully into his houſe, 277 "and liberally, for the Lord's ſake, miniſtered to our ne- "ceſſities. And as he begun, ſo did he continue, a right "hearty friend, and dearly loving brother, ſo long as we re- "mained in the country." [n] While Wiſdom was here, he was ever virtuouſly occupied, and ſuffered no hour to paſs without ſome good fruit: employing himſelf now in writing, as he had before in preaching. Beſides other books formerly writ by him, he penned here a very godly and fruitful expoſition upon certain pſalms of David: of the which he tranſlated ſome into Engliſh metre. There is one of them, and I think no more, ſtill remaining in our ordinary ſinging pſalms; namely, the hundred twenty-fifth: which in the title is ſaid to be compoſed by R. W. There is alſo a hymn of his preſerved, and ſet uſually at the end of our Engliſh ſinging pſalms, in our Bibles, beginning, *Preſerve us, Lord, by thy dear word.* He writ here alſo many godly and learned ſermons upon the Epiſtles and Goſpels, read on Sundays. He tranſlated a poſtil of Antonius Corvinus, a Lutheran divine, and divers other learned men's works. And ſome of his adverſaries having laid certain errors to his charge very unjuſtly, he writ a confutation thereof; a book, it ſeems, repleniſhed with all kind of

CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1552.

[m] The Jewel of Joy.

[n] They were both forced to recant openly at St. Paul's Croſs, in the year 1544, together with one Shingleton. And hereupon, I ſuppoſe, they conveyed themſelves into the north parts for ſecurity.

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

godly learning. Theſe, and ſeveral other things, he writ while he was here, but they were not publiſhed. After his abode in this place ſome time, he was by letters called away again among his former friends and acquaintance. And what became of him afterwards, I find not; until here, in Edward the Sixth's reign, he was nominated by our Archbiſhop to be made Archbiſhop of Armagh. But in Queen Mary's reign he fled to Frankford, where he remained one of the members of the Engliſh congregation there. And when an unhappy breach was made there among them, ſome being for the uſe of the Geneva diſcipline and form, and others for the continuance of that form of prayers that had been uſed in England in King Edward's days; and the faction grew to that head, that the former ſeparated themſelves from the reſt, and departed to Geneva: this Wiſdome did, in a ſermon preached at Frankford, vindicate the Engliſh book, and ſomewhat ſharply blamed them that went away, calling them *madheads*. As one Tho. Cole wrote from thence to a friend, with this cenſure on him; "That he ſo called them, he would "not ſay, *unwiſely*, [alluding to his name *Wiſdom*,] but he "might well ſay, *uncharitably*."

I have thought good to give this account of theſe men, that we may perceive hence the good judgment of our Archbiſhop in propounding them for thoſe Iriſh preferments; ſo fit and well qualified for them, as in other reſpects of prudence and learning, ſo eſpecially for their tried zeal and boldneſs in preaching the Goſpel, and their conſtancy in ſuffering for it; which were virtues that there would be great occaſion for in Ireland.

The character the Archbiſhop gave of the two former.

Of all theſe four, our Archbiſhop judged Mr. Whithead the fitteſt; giving this character of him, "That he was endued with good knowledge, ſpecial honeſty, fervent zeal, "and politic wiſdom." And the next to him in fitneſs he judged Turner: of whom he gives this relation; "That he "was merry and witty withal, *Nihil appetit, nihil ardet,* 278 "*nihil ſomniat, niſi Jeſum Chriſtum.* And, in the lively "preaching of him and his word, declared ſuch diligence, "faithfulneſs, and wiſdom, as for the ſame deſerveth much "commendation."

CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1552.

In fine, Turner was the man concluded upon by the King for the archbiſhoprick of Armagh: Whithead either being not overcome to accept it, or otherwiſe deſigned. And the Archbiſhop had order from court to ſend to Canterbury for him to come up: which accordingly he did. And now, about the middle of September, much againſt his will, as not liking his deſigned preferment, Turner waited upon the Archbiſhop: who, urging to him the King's will and pleaſure, and his ordinary call unto this place, and ſuch-like arguments, after a great unwillingneſs, prevailed with him to accept it. But the Archbiſhop told the Secretary, that Turner ſeemed more glad to go to hanging, (which the rebels three years before were juſt going to do with him, for his preaching againſt them in their camp,) than he was now to go to Armagh. He urged to the Archbiſhop, "That if he went thither, he ſhould have no auditors, "but muſt preach to the walls and ſtalls; for the people "underſtood no Engliſh." The Archbiſhop, on the other hand, endeavoured to anſwer all his objections. He told him, "They did underſtand Engliſh in Ireland; though "whether they did in the dioceſe of Armagh, he did "indeed doubt. But, to remedy that, he adviſed him to "learn the Iriſh tongue: which with diligence, he told him, "he might do in a year or two: and that there would this "advantage ariſe thereby, that both his perſon and doc-"trine would be more acceptable, not only unto his dioceſe, "but alſo throughout all Ireland." And ſo, by a letter to Secretary Cecyl, recommended him to his care; entreating, "that he might have as ready a diſpatch as might "be, becauſe he had but little money."

Turner deſigned for Armagh.

This letter of the Archbiſhop is dated Sept. 29, 1552. So that it muſt be a miſtake in the late excellent hiſtorian, when he writes, that Bale and Goodacre were ſent over into Ireland to be biſhops in the month of Auguſt: which cannot agree with this letter of Cranmer, which makes Turner to be in nomination only for that ſee a month after. And by certain memorials of King Edward's own hand, which I have, it appears, that as Turner at laſt got himſelf off from accepting that biſhoprick, ſo by the date thereof it is evident, it was vacant in October following:

But declines it.

Hiſt. Ref. vol. 1. p. 205.

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

for the King, under that month, put the providing for that place, which Turner refuſed, among his matters to be remembered. The Archbiſhop's letters concerning this Iriſh affair are in the Appendix.

No. LXV, LXVI.

Goodacre made Archbiſhop of Armagh.

So that at laſt this charge fell upon Hugh Goodacre, the laſt man, as it ſeems, nominated by the Archbiſhop; whom he termed "a wiſe and learned man." He and Bale, as they came together out of Biſhop Poynet's family unto their preferments, ſo they were conſecrated together by Brown, Archbiſhop of Dublin, February 2; aſſiſted by Thomas Biſhop of Kildare, and Eugenius Biſhop of Down and Connor: which makes me think they were not come over long before. Goodacre died about a quarter of a year after at Dublin, and there buried, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, by procurement of certain prieſts of his dioceſe, for preaching God's verity, and rebuking their common vices,

279 as Bale writes. He left many writings of great value behind him, as the ſaid Bale, his dear friend, relates; but none, as ever I heard of, publiſhed. As he was a ſober and virtuous man, ſo he was particularly famed for his preaching. He was at firſt, I ſuppoſe, chaplain to the Lady Elizabeth; at leaſt to her he had been long known. And for him, about the year 1548, or 1549, ſhe procured a licence to preach from the Protector; as appears by a letter ſhe wrote from Enfield to Mr. Cecyl, who then attended on him: of which Goodacre himſelf was the bearer. Wherein ſhe gave this teſtimony of him; "That he "had been of long time known unto her to be as well of "honeſt converſation, and ſober living, as of ſufficient "learning and judgment in the Scriptures, to preach the "word of God. The advancement whereof," as ſhe ſaid, "ſhe ſo deſired, that ſhe wiſhed there were many ſuch to "ſet forth God's glory. She deſired him therefore, that as "heretofore, at her requeſt, he had obtained licence to "preach for divers other honeſt men, ſo he would re-"commend this man's caſe unto my Lord, and therewith "procure for him the like licence as to the other had been "granted."

Vocation of John Bale. *Beatæ memoriæ in Hibernia concionatorem vigilantiſſimum, ac theologica eloquentia non immerito commendatum.* Balæi Centur.

Letters from the council to

And laſtly, that Goodacre and his colleague Bale might find the better countenance and authority, when they

should exercise their functions in that country, the privy-council wrote two letters to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland; the one, dated October 27, in commendation of Bale, Bishop elect of Ossory; and the other, dated November 4, in commendation of Goodacre, Bishop elect of Armachan. CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1552. Ireland, recommending the Irish bishops. Council-Book.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Archbishop charged with Covetousness.

To divert the King after the loss of his uncle, whom he dearly loved, Northumberland took him in progress in the summer of this year. While he was in this progress, some about his person, that they might the better make way for their sacrilegious designs, and to make the King the more inclinable to lay hands on the episcopal demeans, or at least to clip and pare them, buzzed about the court rumours, how rich the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops were; and withal, how niggardly and unsuitably they lived to their great incomes, laying up, and scraping together to enrich themselves and their posterities; whereby hospitality was neglected, which was especially required of them. Hereupon Sir William Cecyl the Secretary, who was now with the King, and took notice of these discourses, and saw well the malicious tendency thereof, (and moreover thought them perhaps in some measure to be true,) laboured to hinder the ill consequence: for he was ever a very great favourer, as of the reformed clergy, so of their estate and honours. This put him upon writing a private letter from court to the Archbishop, desiring him favourably to take a piece of good counsel at his hands, as he intended it innocently and out of a good mind, acquainting him with the reports at the court of his riches, and of his covetousness; reminding him withal of that passage of St. Paul, "They that will be rich "fall into temptation and a snare;" meaning probably

A rumour risen out of the Archbishop's covetousness and wealth.

Which Cecyl sends him word of.

280

BOOK II.

Anno 1552.

The Archbiſhop's anſwer for himſelf and the other biſhops.

thereby, the danger that he and the reſt of his brethren might expoſe their revenues to thereby. The Archbiſhop ſeemed ſomewhat nettled, and, perceiving the ill deſigns, diſpatched an anſwer hereunto, giving a true account of his own condition, and of the other biſhops, as to temporal things, and letting him underſtand, how much the world was miſtaken in him and the reſt: "That for him-"ſelf he feared not that ſaying of St. Paul half ſo much as "he did ſtark beggary. That he took not half ſo much "care for his living, when he was a ſcholar of Cambridge, "as he did at that preſent: for although he had now much "more revenue, yet," he ſaid, "he had much more to do "withal. That he had more care now to live as an "Archbiſhop, than he had at that time to live like a ſcholar. "That he had not now ſo much as he had within ten "years paſt by an hundred and fifty pounds of certain "rent, beſides caſualties. That he paid double for every "thing he bought: and that if a good auditor had this ac-"count, he ſhould find no great ſurpluſage to grow rich "upon." And then, as for the reſt of the biſhops, he told him, "that they were all beggars, but only one ſingle [o] man of "them: and yet he dared well ſay, that he was not very "rich. And that if he knew any biſhop that were co-"vetous, he would ſurely admoniſh him. Entreating the "Secretary, that, if he could inform him of any ſuch, he "would ſignify him, and himſelf would advertiſe him, "thinking he could do it better than the other." Who ſeemed to have hinted his mind to the Archbiſhop, that he intended to do it. This letter will be found among the reſt in the Appendix.

No. LXVII.

No doubt the Archbiſhop was thus large and earneſt on this ſubject to ſupply the Secretary with arguments to confute that malicious talk at court concerning the biſhops, and to prevent the miſchiefs hatching againſt them.

This very ſlander raiſed upon him to King Henry.

Nor indeed was this the firſt time this Archbiſhop was thus ſlandered. For ſome of his enemies, divers years before, had charged him to his loving maſter, King Henry

[o] He probably was Holgate, Archbiſhop of York.

CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1552.

VIII. with covetouſneſs and ill houſe-keeping: and the chief of theſe, that raiſed this report, was Sir Thomas Seimour. But the King made him to convince himſelf, by ſending him to Lambeth about dinner time upon ſome pretended meſſage: where his own eyes ſaw how the Archbiſhop lived in far other ſort than he had told the King, keeping great and noble hoſpitality. So that, when he returned, he acknowledged to his Majeſty, that he never ſaw ſo honourable a hall ſet in this realm, beſides his Majeſty's, in all his life, with better order, and ſo well furniſhed in each degree. And the King then gave this teſtimony of him, "Ah, good man! all that he hath he ſpendeth in "houſekeeping." Fox.

King Henry promiſed him lands.

For this reaſon probably it was, as well as upon the account of his good ſervice, and alſo of the exchanges he was forced to make, that the ſaid King gave him a promiſe of a grant of ſome lands, and by a general clauſe in his will ſignified as much; which was, "That certain perſons 281
"ſhould be conſidered." Accordingly I find in the fore-mentioned manuſcript-book of ſales of King's lands, that Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury did, in the firſt year of King Edward VI. partly by purchaſe, and partly by exchange of other lands, procure divers lands of the King. He obtained the rectory of Whalley, Blackbourn, and Rachdale, in the county of Lancaſter, lately belonging to the monaſtery or abbey of Whalley in the ſame county; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Lancaſter, Kent, Surrey, London, Bangor. And this partly in conſideration of King Henry VIII. his promiſe, and in performance of his will; and partly in exchange for the manor and park of Mayfield in the county of Suſſex; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Middleſex, Hertford, Kent, Buckingham, and York. This purchaſe he made, I ſuppoſe, not for himſelf, but for his ſee. About the ſame time he alſo bought of the King, for the ſum of five hundred and eighty pounds eight ſhillings and four pence, the manor of Sleford in the county of Lincoln, and of Middleton Cheny in the county of Northampton, and divers other lands and tenements in the ſaid counties. He made another purchaſe of the King the ſame year, that

This promiſe performed by King Edward.

His purchaſes.

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

is, the firſt of his reign, for four hundred twenty-nine pounds, fourteen ſhillings and two pence, and "for the fulfilling the laſt will of the late King, and in conſideration "of ſervices," as it is expreſſed in the ſaid book of ſales. This purchaſe was the priory of Arthington in the county of York, and divers other lands and tenements in York, Nottingham, and Kent. An extract of which three purchaſes, exactly taken out of the ſaid book, with the value of the lands, and the rent reſerved, and the time of the iſſues, and the teſt of the patent, I have thought fit to inſert in the Appendix: which probably may not be unacceptable to curious perſons.

Num. LXVIII.

The archbiſhoprick fleeced by King Henry.

Which purchaſes when we conſider, we might be ready to make a ſtand, to reſolve ourſelves how the Archbiſhop could repreſent his condition ſo mean as he did in the letter before-mentioned, as though he feared he ſhould die a beggar. But it will unriddle this, if we think how the archbiſhoprick had been fleeced by King Henry VIII. in ten years before: inſomuch that the rents were leſs by an hundred and fifty pounds per annum, than they were before; beſides the loſs of fines, and other accidental benefits, as it is mentioned by the Archbiſhop in his letter. Add thoſe extraordinary expences he was at in the maintenance of divines and ſcholars, ſtrangers, that were exiles for religion, and the ſalaries, and penſions, and gratuities, ſent to learned men abroad: beſides his great and liberal houſekeeping, and conſtant table, and large retinue.

Lands paſt away to the crown by exchange.

But, to make appear more particularly in this place how King Henry pared his revenue, I will give one inſtance of what was paſt away at one clap by exchange: which was indeed ſo conſiderable, that it was commonly called *The great exchange*. This way of exchanging lands was much uſed in thoſe times; wherein the princes commonly made good bargains for themſelves, and ill ones for the biſhopricks. This exchange, made by Cranmer with the King, was on the firſt day of December, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, being the very year of the ſuppreſſion of the greater abbeys and religious convents. They were the ancient demeans belonging to the archbiſhoprick, conſiſting of many noble manors, whereof ſome had palaces

282

annexed to them. I shall name only those that lay in the county of Kent, as I find them dispersed in Philpot's book of Kent. CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1552.

I. The manor and palace of Maidstone: which palace, Leland saith, was once a castle. Villare Cantian.

II. The manor and palace of Charing.

III. Wingham.

IV. Wingham-Barton, in the parish of Alresford. But in this Philpot is mistaken; for this was let to Sir Edward Bainton for ninety-nine years, by means of the King's own solicitation to the Archbishop.

V. Wrotham.

VI. Saltwood; that had in times past a magnificent castle and park; and many manors held of it by knights' service: which made it called an Honour.

VII. Tenham.

VIII. Bexley.

IX. Aldington. Where was a seat for the Archbishop, a park, and a chase for deer, called Aldington-Frith. Besides Clive or Cliff; and Malingden, a manor appendant thereunto: which King Henry took away from this see and Bishop, without any satisfaction, as far as I can find. Also Pymner, Heyes, Harrow, Mortleke, &c. were part of this great exchange. In lieu of these demeans past over to the crown by way of exchange, the King conveyed several manors to the Archbishop, all which had appertained to the lately dissolved religious houses. Namely, these among others: Lands made over to the Archbishop.

I. Pising; a parcel of the abbey of St. Radigunds.

II. Brandred; another manor belonging to the said abbey.

III. The college of Bredgar.

IV. Raculver; another abbey suppressed.

V. Dudmanscomb; belonging to the priory of St. Martin's in Dover.

One author, *viz.* Kilburn, that hath wrote of Kent, makes Cranmer also to have made over to the King the sumptuous palace of Otford, built by Archbishop Warham, which cost him thirty-three thousand pounds, (a vast sum in those days,) as Lambard tells us. Philpot, another writer of that county, saith, that this was incorporated into the revenue of the The Archbishop parted also with Knell and Otford to the King.

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

crown by the builder himſelf, Archbiſhop Warham, about the twelfth year of that King's reign; together with the magnificent ſeat of Knoll near Sevenoke; exchanging both with the King for other lands, "to extinguiſh the paſſions of "ſuch as looked with regret and deſire upon the patrimony of "the church." But it appears, by a writing of Cranmer's own ſecretary, that this Archbiſhop parted with both Otford and Knoll at once to the King, after he had poſſeſſed them ſome years; and not Warham, as Philpot miſtakes.

MSS. C.C.C.C.

What moved him to make theſe exchanges.

The world is apt to blame Cranmer for parting with theſe revenues of the ſee. But ſurely it was a true apology that the author before-named made for the Archbiſhop's great exchange; namely, "Becauſe he, finding that the "ſpreading demeans of the church were in danger to be "torn off by the talons of avarice and rapine, to mortify "the growing appetites of ſacrilegious cormorants, ex-"changed them with the crown." Which may be enough to ſtop any clamours againſt this moſt reverend prelate for this his doing: eſpecially conſidering what I ſhall add upon this argument hereafter, from his own ſecretary.

283

His cares and fears for the King.

His care and concern for the welfare of the Engliſh church made him ever moſt earneſtly to love the King, and to have a very tender regard for the ſafety of his perſon. Who in the ſummer of this year, as was hinted before, went a progreſs, accompanied by the Duke of Northumberland; brought about probably by him to get more into the King's affections, and to have his own deſigns the better to take effect, and with the leſs oppoſition and control: and poſſibly, that the King might be the further off from the Archbiſhop to conſult withal. But he had now a more eſpecial concern upon him for his Majeſty at this time, as though his mind had prophetically prefaged ſome evil to befal the King in that progreſs; (and indeed it was the laſt progreſs that ever he made.) And ſo methinks do theſe expreſſions of the Archbiſhop found, in a letter, dated in July, to Cecyl, then attending the court; "beſeeching Almighty God to pre-"ſerve the King's Majeſty, with all his council and family, "and ſend him well to return from his progreſs." And in a letter the next month, "he thanked Cecyl for his news; "but eſpecially," ſaid he, "for that ye adverti[illegible]

" King's Majefty is in good health: wherein I befeech God CHAP. XXIX.
" long to continue his Highnefs." And when, in the latter Anno 1552.
end of the following month, the gefts (that is, the ftages of his Majefty's progrefs) were altered, which looked like fome ill defign, the Archbifhop entreated Cecyl to fend him the new refolved-upon gefts from that time to the end, that he might from time to time know where his Majefty was; adding his prayer again for him, " that God would preferve " and profper him."

CHAP. XXX.

His Care for the Vacancies. Falls ſick.

His care for filling the vacancies of the church.

WHILE the King was thus abroad, and the Archbifhop abfent, unworthy or difaffected men were in a fairer probability of getting promotions in the church, while he was not at hand for to nominate fit men to the King, and to advife him in the beftowing the vacant dignities and benefices. The Archbifhop knew very well how much learning and fobriety contributed towards the bringing the nation out of popery, and that nothing tended fo effectually to continue it as the contrary. This matter the Archbifhop feemed to have difcourfed at large with Secretary Cecyl at parting: who therefore, by a letter fent to the faid Archbifhop, then at his houfe at Ford, defired him to fend him up a catalogue of learned men, and fuch as he efteemed fit 284
for places of preferment in the church and univerfity: that fo, as any place fell in the King's gift, the faid Secretary might be ready at the leaft warning to recommend fitting and worthy men to fupply fuch vacancies, and to prevent any motion that might be made by any courtiers or fimonifts for ignorant perfons, or corrupt in religion. In anfwer to which letter, the Archbifhop writ him word, that he would fend him his mind in that matter with as much expedition as he could. And undoubtedly we fhould have feen the good fruits of this afterwards in the church, had not the

BOOK II.

untimely death of that admirable Prince, that followed not long after, prevented this good deſign.

Anno 1559. Laboured under an ague this autumn.

This year the Archbiſhop laboured under two fits of ſickneſs at Croydon. The latter was cauſed by a ſevere ague; of which his phyſicians doubted whether it were a quotidian, or a double-tertian; and, ſeizing him in the declining of the year, was in danger to ſtick by him all the winter. But, by the care of his phyſicians, in the latter end of Auguſt, it had left him two days, which made him hope he was quit thereof; yet his water kept of an high colour. That ſecond day he wrote to Cecyl, and "deſired him to "acquaint Cheke how it was with him. And now the "moſt danger was," as he ſaid, "that if it came again that "night, it was like to turn to a quartan, a moſt ſtubborn "ague, and likelier to continue and wear him out." A diſeaſe, indeed, that carried off his ſucceſſor, Cardinal Pole, and was, as Godwin obſerved, a diſeaſe deadly and mortal unto elder folk.

The great mortality of agues about this time.

The Archbiſhop's friends had reaſon to fear his diſtemper, if we think of the ſeverity of agues in that age; greater, as it ſeems, than in this. Roger Aſcham complaineth to his friend John Sturmius, anno 1562; "that, for four years "paſt, he was afflicted with continual agues: that no "ſooner had one left him, but another preſently followed; "and that the ſtate of his health was ſo impaired and broke "by them, that an hectick fever ſeized his whole body: "and the phyſicians promiſed him ſome eaſe, but no ſolid "remedy." And I find, ſix or ſeven years before that, mention made of hot burning fevers, whereof died many old perſons; and that there died in the year 1556, ſeven aldermen within the ſpace of ten months. And the next year, about harveſt time, the quartan agues continued in like manner, or more vehemently than they had done the year before; and they were chiefly mortal to old people, and eſpecially prieſts: ſo that a great number of pariſhes became deſtitute of curates, and none to be gotten; and much corn was ſpoiled for lack of harveſt-men. Such was the nature of this diſeaſe in theſe days.

Stow's Chron.

But the ſeverity or danger of the Archbiſhop's diſtemper did not ſo much trouble him, as certain inconveniences that

attended it; *viz.* that it put him off from thoſe pious and holy deſigns that he was in hand with, for God's glory, and the good of the church. For ſo he expreſſed his mind to his friend the Secretary; "However the matter chance, "the moſt grief to me is, that I cannot proceed in ſuch "matters as I have in hand, according to my will and deſire: "this *terrenum domicilium* is ſuch an obſtacle to all good "purpoſes." So ſtrongly bent was the heart of this excellent prelate to the ſerving of God and his church. But out of this ſickneſs he eſcaped; for God had reſerved him for another kind of death to glorify him by. CHAP. XXX. Anno 1552. That which moſt concerned him in his ſickneſs. 285

A little before this ſickneſs befel him, ſomething fell out which gave him great joy. Cecyl knew how welcome good news out of Germany would be to him, and therefore in July ſent him a copy of the pacification; that is, the Emperor's declaration of peace throughout the empire, after long and bloody wars; which conſiſted of ſuch articles as were favourable unto the Proteſtants, after much perſecution of them: "as, that a diet of the empire ſhould ſhortly "be ſummoned, to deliberate about compoſing the dif- "ferences of religion; and that the diſſenſions about re- "ligion ſhould be compoſed by placid, and pious, and eaſy "methods. And that in the mean time all ſhould live in "peace together, and none ſhould be moleſted for religion; "with divers other matters." And in another letter, ſoon after, the ſaid Cecyl adviſed him of a peace concluded between the Emperor and Maurice, Elector of Saxony, a warlike prince, and who headed the proteſtant army: which being news of peace among chriſtians, was highly acceptable to the good father. But he wanted much to know upon what terms, out of the concern he had that it might go well with the proteſtant intereſt: and therefore, Cecyl having not mentioned them, the Archbiſhop earneſtly, in a letter to him, deſired to know whether the peace were according to the articles, meaning thoſe of the pacification, or otherwiſe. Which when he underſtood, (for upon the ſame articles that peace between the Emperor and Duke Maurice ſtood,) it created a great tranquillity to his pious mind. Thus were his thoughts employed about the matters of Germany, and the cauſe of religion there: which he The Secretary ſends the Archbiſhop the copy of the Emperor's pacification. Vid. Sleid. lib. 21.

BOOK II. Anno 1552. rejoiced not a little to ſee in ſo fair a way to a good concluſion.

CHAP. XXXI.

His kindneſs for Germany.

His kindneſs for Germany.

TO this country he had a particular kindneſs; not only becauſe he had been formerly there in quality of ambaſſador from his maſter King Henry, and had contracted a great friendſhip with many eminent learned men there, and a near relation to ſome of them by marrying Oſiander's niece at Norimberg; but chiefly, and above all, becauſe here the light of the Goſpel began firſt to break forth and diſplay itſelf, to the ſpiritual comfort and benefit of other nations. He had many exhibitioners in thoſe parts, to whom he allowed annual ſalaries: inſomuch that ſome of his officers grumbled at it, as though his houſekeeping were abridged by it. For when once in King Henry's reign, one, in diſcourſe with an officer of his Grace, had ſaid, "He wondered "his Lordſhip kept no better an houſe;" (though he kept a very good one:) he anſwered, "It was no wonder, for my "Lord," ſaid he, "hath ſo many exhibitions in Germany, "that all is too little to ſcrape and get to ſend thither."

286

His correſpondence with Germany,

He held at leaſt a monthly correſpondence to and from learned Germans: and there was one in Canterbury, appointed by him on purpoſe to receive and convey the letters: which his enemies once, in his troubles, made uſe of as an article againſt him. And Gardiner, a prebend of Canterbury, and preferred by the Archbiſhop, of this very thing treacherouſly, in a ſecret letter, informed his grand enemy and competitor Gardiner, the Biſhop of Winton.

and with Herman, Archbiſhop of Colen.

Among the reſt of his correſpondents in Germany, Herman, the memorable and ever-famous Archbiſhop and Elector of Colen, was one; who, by the counſel and direction of Bucer and Melanchon, did vigorouſly labour a reformation of corrupt religion within his province and territories. But, finding the oppoſition againſt him ſo great, and lying

CHAP. XXXI. Anno 1552.

under the excommunication of the Pope for what he had done; and, being deprived thereupon by the Emperor of his lands and function, he refigned his eccleſiaſtical honour, and betook himſelf to a retired life: which was done about the year 1547. But no queſtion, in this private capacity, he was not idle in doing what ſervice he could for the good of that cauſe which he had ſo generouſly and publickly eſpouſed, and for which he had ſuffered ſo much. I find that, in this year 1552, our Archbiſhop had ſent a meſſage to Secretary Cecyl, who accompanied the King in this ſummer's progreſs, deſiring him to be mindful of the Biſhop of Colen's letters. And in another letter, dated July 21, he thanked the Secretary for the good remembrance he had thereof. What the contents of theſe letters of the Archbiſhop of Colen were, it appeareth not: but I am very apt to think the purport of them was, that Cranmer would ſolicit ſome certain buſineſs in the Engliſh court, relating to the affairs of religion in Germany, and for the obtaining ſome favour from the King in that cauſe. But the King being now abroad, and the Archbiſhop at a diſtance from him, he procured the Secretary, who was ever cordial to the ſtate of religion, to ſolicit that Archbiſhop's buſineſs for him: ſending him withal that Archbiſhop's letters for his better inſtruction.

And this, whatever it was, ſeems to have been the laſt good office that Archbiſhop Herman did to the cauſe of religion; for he died, according to Sleidan, in the month of Auguſt; and our Archbiſhop's letter, wherein that Elector's letters are mentioned, was writ but the month before.

The ſuitableneſs of both theſe Archbiſhops' diſpoſitions.

And if one may judge of men's commencing friendſhip and love according to the ſuitableneſs of their tempers and diſpoſitions, our Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Archbiſhop of Colen, muſt have been very intimate friends. It was ſaid of this man, that he often wiſhed, "That either he "might be inſtrumental to the propagating the evangelical "doctrine and reformation of the churches under his juriſdic-"tion, or to live a private life." And when his friends had often told him what envy he would draw upon himſelf by the changing of religion, he would anſwer, like a true chriſtian philoſopher, "That nothing could happen to him unexpectedly,

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

"and that he had long ſince fortified his mind againſt every "event." Theſe two paſſages ſpake the very ſpirit and ſoul of Cranmer: which they may ſee that are minded to read what Fox ſaith of him, as to his undauntedneſs and conſtancy in the maintaining of the truth, againſt the many temptations and dangers that he met with during theſe three reigns ſucceſſively.

Their diligence in reforming.

And laſtly, as our Archbiſhop devoted himſelf wholly to the reforming of his church; ſo admirable was the diligence, pains, and ſtudy this Archbiſhop took in contriving the reformation of his. He procured a book to be writ concerning it, called *Inſtauratio Eccleſiarum*, which contained the form and way to be uſed for the redreſſing the errors and corruptions of his church. It was compoſed by thoſe great German divines, Bucer and Melanchthon; which book was put into Engliſh, and publiſhed here, as a good pattern, in the year 1547. This book he intended to iſſue forth through his juriſdiction, by his authority to be obſerved. But firſt he thought fit well and ſeriouſly to examine it: and ſpent five hours in the morning, for five days, to deliberate and conſult thereupon: calling to him, to adviſe withal in this great affair, his coadjutor Count Stolberg, Huſman, Jenep, Bucer, and Melanchthon. He cauſed the whole work to be read before him; and, as many places occurred wherein he ſeemed leſs ſatisfied, he cauſed the matter to be diſputed and argued, and then ſpake his own mind accurately. He would patiently hear the opinions of others for the information of his own judgment; and ſo ordered things to be either changed or illuſtrated. And ſo dexterouſly would he decide many controverſies ariſing, that Melanchthon thought that thoſe great points of religion had been long weighed and conſidered by him, and that he rightly underſtood the whole doctrine of the church. He had always lying by him the Bible of Luther's verſion; and, as teſtimonies chanced to be alleged thence, he commanded that they ſhould be turned to, that he might conſider that which is the fountain of all truth: inſomuch that the ſaid Melanchthon could not but admire and talk of his learning, prudence, piety, and dexterity, to ſuch as he converſed with; and particularly to John Cæſar, to whom in a letter he

gave a particular account of this affair. And it is to be noted by the way, that the ſaid book, according to which the reformation was to be modelled, contained only, as Melancthon in his letter ſuggeſted, a neceſſary inſtruction for all children, and the ſum of the chriſtian doctrine: and the appointments for the colleges and eccleſiaſtical hierarchy were very moderate; the form of the eccleſiaſtical polity being to remain as it was, and ſo were the colleges, with their dignities, wealth, degrees, ornaments thereunto belonging; only great ſuperſtitions ſhould be taken away. Which the wiſe Melancthon aforeſaid did ſo approve of, that he profeſſed he had often propounded it in diets of the German nation, as the beſt way to peace. And this I add, that it might be obſerved how Archbiſhop Cranmer went by the ſame meaſures in the reformation of the church of England; maintaining the hierarchy, and the revenues, dignities, and cuſtoms of it, againſt many in thoſe times that were for the utter aboliſhing them, as relicks of popery. Such a correſpondence there was between our Archbiſhop and the wiſeſt, moderateſt, and moſt learned divines of Germany. But let us look nearer home. 288

CHAP. XXXI.

Anno 1552. Mel. Epiſt. printed at Leyden, 1647. pag. 34.

Nec aliam videe, niſi hanc unam, ut retineant Epiſcopi et Collegia ſua ἀξιώματα, et ſuas opes, et recipiant doctrinam piam. Ubi ſupra.

CHAP. XXXII.

Troubles of Biſhop Tonſtal.

AS the laſt year we heard of the deprivation of two popiſh biſhops, ſo this year another underwent the like cenſure; I mean Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham: whoſe buſineſs I ſhall the rather relate, becauſe our Archbiſhop had ſome concern in it. September 21, "A commiſſion was iſſued out to the "Lord Chief Juſtice and his colleagues, to examine and de- "termine the cauſe of Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham, and eight "writings touching the ſame; which he is willed to con- "ſider, and to proceed to the hearing and ordering of the "matter, as ſoon as he may get the reſt of his colleagues to "him." It was not long after, *viz.* about the midſt of October, that this Biſhop by theſe commiſſioners (whoſe

The troubles of Biſhop Tonſtal.

MS. of an old Council-Book.

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

names, beſides the Chief Juſtice, do not occur) was deprived, and his eſtate confiſcated. "October ult. Sir John Maſon "was ordered by the council to deliver, to the uſe of Dr. "Tonſtal, (ſo he is now ſtyled,) remaining priſoner in the "Tower, ſuch money as ſhould ſerve for his neceſſities, "until ſuch time as further order ſhall be taken touching "his goods and money, lately appertaining to him. De- "cember 6, it was agreed by the council, that Dr. Tonſtal, "late Biſhop of Durham, ſhould have the liberty of the "Tower:" where he continued till the time of Queen Mary.

The cauſe of this Biſhop's puniſhment.

But we will look back to learn for what cauſe this ſevere puniſhment was inflicted upon this reverend grave Biſhop; and the rather, becauſe the Biſhop of Sarum could not find, as he writes, what the particulars were. In the year 1550, a conſpiracy was hatching in the north, to which the Biſhop was privy at leaſt, if not an abettor: and he wrote to one Menvile in thoſe parts relating to the ſame. This Menvile himſelf related unto the council, and produced the Biſhop's letter: which was afterwards, by the Duke of Somerſet, withdrawn and concealed, as it ſeems, out of kindneſs to Tonſtal. But upon the Duke's troubles, when his cabinet was ſearched, this letter was found: upon which they proceeded againſt Tonſtal. This is the ſum of what is found in the Council-Book: *viz.* "May 20, 1551, the Biſhop of "Durham is commanded to keep his houſe. Aug. 2, he "had licence to walk in the fields. December 20. Whereas "the Biſhop of Durham, about July 1550, was charged by "Vivian Menvile to have conſented to a conſpiracy in the "north, for the making a rebellion; and whereas, for want "of a letter written by the ſaid Biſhop to the ſaid Menvile, "(whereupon great trial of this matter depended,) the final "determination of the matter could not be proceeded unto, "and the Biſhop only commanded to keep his houſe; the "ſame letter hath of late been found in a caſket of the "Duke of Somerſet's after his laſt apprehenſion. The ſaid "Biſhop was ſent for, and this day appeared before the "council, and was charged with the letter, which he could
289 "not deny but to be his own hand-writing: and, having "little to ſay for himſelf, he was then ſent to the Tower,

"there to abide till he ſhould be delivered by proceſs of "law." Agreeable to this is that King Edward writes in his Journal: "December 20, the Biſhop of Durham was, "for concealment of treaſon written to him, and not diſ- "cloſed, ſent to the Tower." CHAP. XXXII. Anno 1552.

In the latter end of the year 1551, a parliament ſitting, it was thought convenient to bring in a bill into the houſe of Lords, attainting him for miſpriſion of treaſon. But Archbiſhop Cranmer ſpake freely againſt it, not ſatisfied, it ſeems, with the charge laid againſt him. But it paſſed, and the Archbiſhop proteſted. But when it was carried down to the Commons, they would not proceed upon it, not ſatisfied with the bare depoſitions of evidences, but required that the accuſers might be brought face to face: and ſo it went no further. But when the parliament would not do Tonſtal's buſineſs, a commiſſion was iſſued out to do it, as is above ſpoken. A bill in parliament to attaint Tonſtal.

In the mean time, that the biſhoprick might not want a due care taken of it, during the Biſhop's reſtraint, Feb. 18, 1551, a letter was ſent from the council to the prebendaries of Durham, to conform themſelves to ſuch orders in religion and divine ſervice, ſtanding with the King's proceedings, as their Dean, Mr. Horn, ſhall ſet forth, whom the lords required them to receive and uſe well, as being ſent to them for the weal of the country by his Majeſty. The care of the dioceſe committed to the Dean.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The new Common Prayer. The Archbiſhop in Kent.

THE book of Common Prayer having the laſt year been carefully reviſed and corrected by the Archbiſhop and others, the parliament in April this year enacted, that it ſhould begin to be uſed every where at All-Saints day next. And accordingly the book was printed againſt the time, and began to be read in St. Paul's church, and the like throughout the whole city. But becauſe the poſture of kneeling was excepted againſt by ſome, and the words uſed by the The new Common Prayer begun to be uſed.

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

prieſt to the communicant, at the reception of the bread, gave ſcruple, as though the adoration of the hoſt were intended: therefore, to take off this, and to declare the contrary to be the doctrine of this church, October 27, a letter was ſent from the council to the Lord Chancellor, to cauſe to be joined to the book of Common Prayer, lately ſet forth, a declaration, ſigned by the King, touching the kneeling at the receiving of the communion. Which in all probability was done by the motion of the Archbiſhop, who, in his late book, had taken ſuch pains to confute the adoration; and now thought it neceſſary, that ſome public declaration ſhould be made in the church-ſervice againſt it. So now, the firſt of November being come, Dr. Ridley, the Biſhop of London, was the firſt that celebrated the new ſervice in St. Paul's church; which he did in the forenoon: and then, in his rochet only, without cope or veſtment, preached in the choir. And in the afternoon he preached at Paul's Croſs, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and citizens, preſent. His ſermon tended to the ſetting forth this new edition of the Common Prayer. He continued preaching till almoſt five a clock; ſo that the Mayor and the reſt went home by torch-light. By this book of Common Prayer, all copes and veſtments were forbidden throughout England. The prebendaries of St. Paul's left off their hoods, and the biſhops their croſſes, &c. as by act of parliament is more at large ſet forth.

Stow's Chron.

290

This book put into French for the King's French ſubjects.

Proviſion alſo was made for the King's French dominions, that this book, with the amendments, ſhould be uſed there. And the Biſhop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, (a great forwarder of good reformation,) procured a learned Frenchman, who was a doctor of divinity, carefully to correct the former French book by this Engliſh new one, in all the alterations, additions, and omiſſions thereof. For the firſt Common Prayer-Book alſo was in French, for the uſe of the King's French ſubjects: being tranſlated by commandment of Sir Hugh Paulet, Governor of Calais: and that tranſlation overſeen by the Lord Chancellor and others at his appointment. The benefit of this laſt book was ſuch, that one of the French congregation in London fought, by the means of A Laſco's intereſt with Secretary Cecyl, for a licence

under the King's letters patents, to tranſlate this Common Prayer, and the Adminiſtration of Sacraments, and to print it, for the uſe of the French iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey. But Cecyl, after a letter received from A Laſco in Auguſt to that effect, not willing to do this of his own head, and reckoning it a proper matter to be conſidered by the Archbiſhop, who were to be entruſted with the tranſlating of ſuch a book, deſired him, being now at Ford, to give him his advice and judgment herein, both as to the work and as to the benefit. To whom the Archbiſhop gave this anſwer; "That the commodity that might ariſe by printing of the "book was meet to come to them who had already taken "the pains in tranſlating the ſame." Informing the Secretary who they were; namely, thoſe formerly and now of late employed by Sir Hugh Paulet, and the Lord Chancellor. But I find this book was not preſently finiſhed, being not printed till the year 1553, for the uſe of Jerſey and Guernſey. CHAP. XXXIII. Anno 1552.

Notwithſtanding this cleanſing of the church from ſuperſtition and idolatry, and bringing in the knowledge of the Goſpel, by the Archbiſhop's conſtant pains and ſtudy, the people generally, even the profeſſors themſelves, were bad enough as to their morals; and religion had yet got but little hold of them. A clear ſight of the behaviour of theſe times may be ſeen by what Tho. Becon, a chaplain of Cranmer's, writ in his preface to a book put forth in thoſe days: "What a nomber of fals chriſtians lyve ther at thys preſent "day, unto the excedynge diſhonour of the chriſten profeſ- "ſion, which with theyr mouth confeſſe that they know "God, but with theyr dedes they utterly denye hym, and "are abhominable, diſobedient to the word of God, and "utterlye eſtranged from al good works? What a ſwarm of "groſſe goſpellers have we alſo among us, which can prattle "of the Goſpel very fynely, talk much of the juſtification of "faith, crake very ſtoutly of the free remiſſyon of all theyr "ſins by Chriſt's blood, avaunce themſelves to be of the "number of thoſe, which are predeſtinate unto eternal glory? "But how far do theyr life differ from al true chriſtianitie? "They are puffed up with al kynd of pryde: they ſwel with "al kynd of envy, malice, hatred, and enmity againſt theyr The age full vicious. *Jewel of Joy.* 291

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

" neghbour, they brenne with unquencheable luſts of carnal " concupiſcence, they walowe and tumble in al kynd of " beaſtly pleaſures: theyr gredy covetous affects are infa- " tiable: thenlarging of theyr lordſhipps, thencreaſyng of " theyr ſubſtance, the ſcrapyng together of theyr worldly " poſſeſſions infynite, and knoweth no end. In fyne, all " theyr endeavours tend unto thys end, to ſhew themſelves " very ethnycks, and utterly eſtraunged from God in theyr " converſation, although in words they otherwiſe pretend. " As for theyr almes-dedes, theyr praying, theyr watchyng, " theyr faſtyng, and ſuch other godly exerciſes of the Spirit, " they are utterly baniſhed from theſe rude and groſs gof- " pellers. All theyr religion conſiſteth in words and diſ- " putations; in chriſten acts and godly dedes nothyng at all." Theſe evil manners of the profeſſors themſelves looked with ſo ſad a face, that it made the beſt men aſſuredly expect a change, and woful times to follow.

A new ſect in Kent.

Council-Book.

September 27, a letter was ſent from the council to the Archbiſhop to examine a ſect newly ſprung up in Kent. Whereof there was now a book of examinations ſent him: and to commune with a man and a woman, (the informers,) bearers of the letter, who could inform him ſomewhat of the matter. And to take ſuch order in the ſame according to the commiſſion, that theſe errors might not be ſuffered thus to overſpread the King's faithful ſubjects. What this ſect was, appeareth not. The Anabaptiſts were taken notice of, and a commiſſion iſſued out againſt them, ſome years before. Theſe were ſectaries more new, and whereof the council very lately was informed. It may be they were of the family of Love, or David George his ſect, who made himſelf ſometime Chriſt, and ſometime the Holy Ghoſt. For a little before theſe times, divers ſects ſprang up under the profeſſion of the Goſpel, in High and Low Germany; ſome whereof diſperſed themſelves into England. Which ſects began to do ſo much hurt to the reformation among us, that the author before mentioned laments it in theſe words: " What wicked and ungodly opinions are there ſown now- " a-days of the Anabaptiſts, Davidians, Libertines, and ſuch " other peſtilent ſects, in the hearts of the people, unto the " great diſquietneſs of Chriſt's church, moving rather unto

"fedition, than unto pure religion; unto herefy, than unto "things godly!" CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1552. The Archbishop's buſineſs in Kent.

The examination of this new ſect was one of the buſineſſes the Archbiſhop was employed in while he was in his retirement at his houſe near Canterbury. Another was, the fitting upon a commiſſion to him, and other gentlemen of Kent, for inquiry after ſuch as had embezzled the plate and goods belonging to chauntries, &c. given by the parliament to the King, and converting them to their own uſes. But this being ſomewhat an odious work, he was not very forward to enter upon, eſpecially becauſe he thought, whatſoever he and the other commiſſioners ſhould recover, would be but ſwallowed up by the Duke of Northumberland and 292 his friends, and the King be little the better. But, becauſe he did not make more haſte, he was charged by his enemies at court as a neglecter of the King's buſineſs. Which coſt him a letter in excuſe of himſelf to the ſaid Duke: ſignifying, that he omitted this buſineſs awhile till the gentlemen and juſtices of peace of Kent, who were then moſtly at London, were come home.

A letter for inſtalling Biſhop Hooper. Council-Book.

December 2, a letter was ſent from the council to the Archbiſhop, to grant out a warrant, *ad inſtallandum*, for the Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, without paying any fees for the ſame; becauſe he paid fees for another mandate, which ſerved to no purpoſe.

The Vicar of Beden. Council-Book.

February 20, an order was ſent to the Archbiſhop from the council to examine the Vicar of Beden in the county of Berks, according to an information encloſed, and to adverti ſe the lords of his proceedings therein. What this Vicar's crime was, I know not; but I obſerve about theſe times the prieſts and curates were very buſy men, and would take liberty, ſometimes to ſpeak againſt the King's proceedings, or his Archbiſhop, with bitterneſs enough, and ſometimes to vent fond opinions, ſo that oftentimes they were fetched up to the council-board; and, after an appearance or two, referred to the Archbiſhop to examine and puniſh: as being matters relating to religion; and ſo proper for his cognizance.

Sampſon and Knox.

About the latter end of this year, Thomas Sampſon was preferred to the deanery of Chicheſter, having been Parſon

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

of Alhallowes, Bread-ſtreet, London. February the 2d, a letter was ſent from the privy-council to the Archbiſhop, to beſtow the ſaid living upon Mr. Knox, who was one of the King's chaplains, and in good eſteem in the court for his gift of preaching.

The council favour Knox.

Collect. vol. ii. p. 42.

This Knox was the man whoſe name was ſo daſhed in the King's Journal, where the names of the King's ſix chaplains were inſerted, that Biſhop Burnet could not read it. The council bare a great favour to him, as appears by thoſe ſeveral letters they wrote in his behalf. One was mentioned before, ſent to the Archbiſhop for a living in London; but in that Knox ſucceeded not, the Archbiſhop preferring Laurence Saunders (afterwards a martyr) thereunto. Knox being ſent this year into the north one of the King's itinerary preachers, a warrant, dated October 27, was granted from the council to four gentlemen, to pay to him, his Majeſty's Preacher in the north, (ſo he is ſtyled,) forty pounds, as his Majeſty's reward. And again, December 9, a letter was ſent from the council to the Lord Wharton (who was Lord Warden in the northern borders) in commendation of Mr. Knox. And the next year, *viz.* 1553, being returned out of the north, and being then in Buckinghamſhire, that he might find the more acceptance and reſpect there, the council wrote a letter to the great men in thoſe parts, *viz.* the Lord Ruſſel, Lord Windſor, to the juſtices of the peace, and the reſt of the gentlemen within that county, in favour of the ſaid Knox the preacher.

Council-Book.

293

A Biſhop conſecrated.

John Taylor.

June 26, John Taylor, S. Th. P. Dean of Lincoln, a learned and pious man, was conſecrated Biſhop of Lincoln, at Croyden chapel, by the Archbiſhop; aſſiſted by Nicolas Biſhop of London, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter.

CHAP. XXXIV.

A Catechiſm. The Archbiſhop oppoſeth the Excluſion of the Lady Mary.

WE are now come to the laſt year of good King Edward's reign; when the Archbiſhop was as commonly at the council as he uſed to be before. For the counſellors made great uſe of him, and did not uſe to conclude any thing in matters relating to the church without him. And if he came not, they often ſent for him: and once the laſt year, in October, when he had fixed his day of going into Kent, they ſtayed him for ſome days, that they might confer with him about ſome certain matter; I ſuppoſe, relating to the Articles of Religion, that were then under their hands. To look no further than the latter end of the laſt year; he was at council at Weſtminſter in February, and this year in March and April. And the court being at Greenwich, where the King lay ſick, and died, the Archbiſhop was there at council in June: but not after the eighth day. The reaſon he came no more we may well conjecture to be, becauſe he did no ways like the methods that were now taking by Northumberland to bring the crown into his own family, and diſinherit the King's ſiſters. For ſoon after, *viz.* June 11, the Lord Chief Juſtice Mountague, and ſome other judges, with the King's Attorney and Solicitor, were ſent for to the council to conſult about drawing up the inſtrument.

Anno 1553.

Great uſe made of the Archbiſhop at council.

On one of theſe council-days he procured the King's letters in behalf of the book of Articles, which he had taken ſuch pains about the two laſt years, both in compoſing and in bringing to effect. The King had before given order to the Archbiſhop, by his letters, to put forth theſe Articles. And now they were put forth, he procured the King's letters alſo to his own officers, for to ſee the clergy of his dioceſe to ſubſcribe thereunto. So the King's letters were directed to the Official of the court of Canterbury, and the Dean of the deanery of the Arches, and to their ſurrogates, deputies, &c. ſetting forth, "That whereas he had given order unto Tho-

The Articles of Religion enjoined by the King's authority.

Cranm. Regiſt.

BOOK II. Anno 1553.

" mas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in letters ſealed with his " ſignet, for the honour of God, and to take away diſſenſion " of opinion, and confirm conſent of true religion, that he " ſhould expound, publiſh, denounce, and ſignify ſome arti- " cles and other things, breathing the right faith of Chriſt, " for the clergy and people within his juriſdiction; the King 294 " therefore enjoined them, the Archbiſhop's officers, that " they ſhould cauſe all rectors, vicars, prieſts, ſtipendiaries, " ſchoolmaſters, and all that had any eccleſiaſtical employ- " ment, to appear in perſon before the Archbiſhop in his " hall at Lambeth, there further to obey and do, on the " King's part, according as it ſhall be ſignified, and to re- " ceive according to reaſon, and the office owing to the " King's royal dignity." And in obedience hereunto, the Official, John Gibbon, LL. D. Commiſſary of the deanery of the bleſſed Virgin of the Arches, ſignified by an inſtrument, dated June 2, to the Archbiſhop, that he had cited the clergy. I do not find the ſucceſs of this; only that the city-clergy made their appearance before the Archbiſhop at Lambeth: and that he did his endeavour, by perſuaſion and argument, to bring them to ſubſcribe: which, no queſtion, very few refuſed. But this matter afterwards ſerved Queen Mary's commiſſioners for one of their interrogatories to be put to the Archbiſhop, as though he had compelled many againſt their wills to ſubſcribe. Which he denied, ſaying, he compelled none; but exhorted ſuch to ſubſcribe as were willing firſt to do it, before they did it.

The Catechiſm for ſchools.

In the month of May, the King by his letters patents commanded a Latin catechiſm to be taught by ſchoolmaſters to their ſcholars. It was entitled, *Catechiſmus brevis, Chriſtianæ diſciplinæ ſummam continens.* The King in his letters, dated May 20, ſaid, " it was made by a certain " pious and learned man, and preſented to him; and that " he committed the diligent examination of it to certain " biſhops and other learned men, whoſe judgment was of " great authority with him." The ſame biſhops and learned men, I ſuppoſe, that were framing and preparing the Articles of Religion the laſt year. The author of this Catechiſm is not certainly known: ſome conjecture him to be Ponet, the Biſhop of Winchester. The learned Dr.

Ward, one of the Engliſh divines ſent to the ſynod of Dort, having this Catechiſm in his library, (now in the poſſeſſion of a friend of mine,) wrote therein theſe words; *Arch. N^lli autore, ſiquid ego divinare poſſum:* meaning probably Alexander Nowel, who was now, if I miſtake not, ſchoolmaſter of Weſtminſter, and afterwards Dean of St. Paul's. But whoſoever was the author, the Archbiſhop we may conclude to be the furtherer and recommender of it unto the King: it being that Prelate's great deſign by catechiſms, and articles of religion, and plain expoſitions of the fundamentals, to inſtil right principles into the minds of the youth and common people, for the more effectual rooting out Popery, that had been ſo long entertained by the induſtrious nurtelling up the nation in ignorance.

A Catechiſm ſet forth by the ſynod.

There was a Catechiſm that came forth about this time, (whether it were this or another, I cannot ſay,) allowed by the ſynod, or convocation. In the beginning of Queen Mary the popiſh divines made a great ſtir about this Catechiſm, and thought they had a great advantage againſt it, becauſe it was put forth as from the ſynod, whereas that ſynod knew nothing of it. Whereupon Weſton, the prolocutor in Queen Mary's firſt convocation, brought a bill into the houſe, declaring that Catechiſm, being peſtiferous and full of hereſies, to be foiſted upon the laſt ſynod fraudulently, and therefore that the preſent ſynod diſowned it. 295 To which he ſet his own hand, and propounded that all the houſe ſhould do the like: which all but ſix conſented to. One whereof was Philpot, Archdeacon of Wincheſter, who ſtood up and told them, in juſtification of thoſe that publiſhed the ſaid Catechiſm, that the ſynod, under King Edward, had granted to certain perſons, to be appointed by the King, to make eccleſiaſtical laws. And whatſoever eccleſiaſtical laws they or the moſt part of them did ſet forth, according to a ſtatute in that behalf provided, might well be ſaid to be done by the ſynod of London; although ſuch as were of the Houſe then had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And therefore in this point he thought the ſetters forth of the Catechiſm had nothing ſlandered the houſe, ſince they had that ſynodal authority unto them committed. And moreover he deſired the Prolocutor would

BOOK II. Anno 1553.

be a means unto the lords, that ſome of thoſe that were learned, and the publiſhers of this book, might be brought into the houſe, to ſhew their learning that moved them to ſet forth the ſame; and that Dr. Ridley, and Rogers, and two or three more, might be licenſed to be preſent at this diſputation, and be aſſociate with them. But this would not be allowed.

Fox.

The Archbiſhop oppoſeth the new ſettlement of the crown.

The laſt thing we hear of concerning our Archbiſhop in this King's reign was, his denial to comply with the new ſettlement of the crown, deviſed and carried on by the domineering Duke of Northumberland, for the ſucceſſion of Jane, daughter to Gray, Duke of Suffolk, whom he had married to one of his ſons. This he did both oppoſe, and, when he could not hinder, refuſed to have any hand in it. Firſt, he did his endeavour to ſtop this act of the King. He took the boldneſs to argue much with the King about it once, when the Marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Darcy, Lord Chamberlain, were preſent. And moreover he ſignified his deſire to ſpeak with the King alone, that ſo he might be more free and large with him. But that would not be ſuffered: but if it had, he thought he ſhould have brought off the King from his purpoſe, as he ſaid afterward. But, for what he had ſaid to the King, the Duke of Northumberland ſoon after told him at the council-table, "That "it became him not to ſpeak to the King as he had done, "when he went about to diſſuade him from his will." To the council the Archbiſhop urged the entailing of the crown by King Henry upon his two daughters, and uſed many grave and pithy reaſons to them for the Lady Mary's legitimation, when they argued againſt it. But the council replied, "That it was the opinion of the judges, and the "King's learned counſel in the law, that that entailing "could not be prejudicial unto the King; and that he, "being in poſſeſſion of the crown, might diſpoſe of it as he "would." This ſeemed ſtrange unto the Archbiſhop: yet, conſidering it was the judgment of the lawyers, and he himſelf unlearned in the law, he thought it not ſeemly to oppoſe this matter further. But he refuſed to ſign: till the King himſelf required him to ſet his hand to his will, and ſaying, "that he hoped he alone would not ſtand out, and be more

CHAP. XXXIV. Anno 1553. 296

"repugnant to his will than all the reſt of the council "were." Which words made a great impreſſion upon the Archbiſhop's tender heart, and grieved him very ſore, out of the dear love he had to that King; and ſo he ſubſcribed. And, when he did it, he did it unfeignedly. All this he wrote unto Queen Mary.

Denieth before the council to ſubſcribe to the exclusion of the Lady Mary. Foxii MSS.

To which I will add what I meet with in one of my manuſcripts. "When the council and the chief judges had "ſet their hands to the King's will, laſt of all they ſent for "the Archbiſhop, [who had all this while ſtood off,] requir- "ing him alſo to ſubſcribe the ſame will, as they had done. "Who anſwered, that he might not without perjury: for "ſo much as he was before ſworn to my Lady Mary by "King Henry's will. To whom the council anſwered, that "they had conſciences as well as he; and were alſo as well "ſworn to the King's will as he was. The Archbiſhop an- "ſwered, I am not judge over any man's conſcience, but "mine own only. For as I will not condemn their fact, no "more will I ſtay my fact upon your conſcience, ſeeing that "every man ſhall anſwer to God for his own deeds, and not "for other men's. And ſo he refuſed to ſubſcribe, till he "had ſpoken with the King herein. And being with the "King, he told the Archbiſhop, that the judges had in- "formed him, that he might lawfully bequeath his crown "to the Lady Jane, and his ſubjects receive her as Queen, "notwithſtanding their former oath to King Henry's will. "Then the Archbiſhop deſired the King, that he might firſt "ſpeak with the judges: which the King gently granted. "And he ſpake with ſo many of them as were at that time "at the court, and with the King's Attorney alſo: who all "agreed in one, that he might lawfully ſubſcribe to the "King's will by the laws of the realm. Whereupon he re- "turning to the King, by his commandment granted at laſt "to ſet his hand."

Sets his hand.

The Archbiſhop ungratefully dealt with.

From the whole relation of this affair we may note, as the honeſty, ſo the ſtoutneſs and courage of the Archbiſhop, in the management of himſelf in this cauſe againſt Northumberland, who hated him, and had of a long time fought his ruin: and the ingratitude of Queen Mary, or at leaſt the implacableneſs of Cranmer's enemies; that the Queen ſoon

BOOK II. Anno 1553.

yielded her pardon to ſo many of the former King's council, that were ſo deep and ſo forward in this buſineſs, but would not grant it him; (who could not obtain it till after much and long ſuit:) and that it ſhould be put into two acts of her parliament (to make him infamous for a traitor to poſterity) that he and the Duke of Northumberland were the deviſers of this ſucceſſion, to deprive Queen Mary of her right: which was ſo palpably falſe and untrue on the Archbiſhop's part. But this was, no queſtion, Wincheſter's doing; through whoſe hands, being now Lord Chancellor, all theſe acts of parliament paſſed, and the wording of them.

The council ſubſcribe and ſwear to the limited ſucceſſion.

Vol. ii. p. 223.

Finally, I have only one thing more to add concerning this matter: which is, that, beſides the inſtrument of ſucceſſion, drawn up by the King's council learned in the law, ſigned by himſelf and thirty-two counſellors, and dated June 21, according to the Hiſtory of the Reformation, there was another writing, which was alſo ſigned by twenty-four of the council. And to this I find our Archbiſhop's name. Herein they promiſed by their oaths and honours (being commanded ſo to do by the King) to obſerve all and every article contained in a writing of the King's own hand, touching the ſaid ſucceſſion, and after copied out and delivered to certain judges and learned men to be written in order. This writing thus ſigned, with the other writing of the King, being his deviſe for the ſucceſſion, may be ſeen in the Appendix, as I drew them out of an original.

297

[Num. LXVIII.]

CHAP. XXXV.

The King dies.

The King dies.

THE good King made his moſt chriſtian departure July the 6th, to the ineffable loſs of religion and the kingdom; being in all likelihood, by his early beginnings, to prove an incomparable Prince to the Engliſh nation. It was more than whiſpered that he died by poiſon: and, however ſecretly this was managed, it was very remarkable, that this

rumour ran not only after his death, but, even a month or two before it, reports ſpread that he was dead. For which, as being raſh ſpeeches againſt the King, they ſtudiouſly took up many people, and puniſhed them. Before his father King Henry had him, his only ſon lawfully begotten, it was twenty-eight years from his firſt entrance upon his kingdom. And this heir made amends for the nation's ſo long expectation of a Prince: "His ſingular excellency in all "kind of princely towardlineſs (to uſe the words of one "who lived in thoſe times) was ſuch, that no place, no "time, no cauſe, no book, no perſon, either in public au- "dience, or elſe in private company, made any mention of "him, but thought himſelf even of very conſcience bound "to powdre the fame with manifold praiſes of his incom- "parable vertues and gifts of grace." And again; "How "happy are we Engliſhmen of ſuch a King, in whoſe child- "hood appeareth as perfect grace, vertue, godly zeal, deſire "of literature, gravity, prudence, juſtice, and magnanimity, "as hath heretofore been found in Kings of moſt mature "age, of full diſcretion, of antient fame, and of paſſing high "eſtimation." And again; "That God hath of ſingular "favour and mercy towards this realm of England ſent "your Grace to reign over us, the thing itſelf, by the whole "proceſs, doth declare."

CHAP. XXXV. Anno 1553.

Cooper's Chron.

His character.

Nic. Udal his Pref. to Erasm. Paraphraſe.

The Archbiſhop his godfather took exceeding complacency in a Prince of ſuch hopes, and would often congratulate Sir John Cheke his ſchoolmaſter having ſuch a ſcholar, even with tears. His inſtructors would ſometimes give account to the Archbiſhop of his proficiency in his ſtudies, a thing that they knew would be acceptable to him. Thus did Dr. Cox his tutor in a letter acquaint the Archbiſhop "of the Prince's towardlineſs, godlineſs, gentleneſs, and all "honeſt qualities: and that both the Archbiſhop, and all "the realm, ought to take him for a ſingular gift ſent of "God. That he read Cato, Vives his Satellitium, Eſop's "Fables, and made Latin, beſides things of the Bible; and "that he conned pleaſantly and perfectly." The Archbiſhop, out of his dear love to him, and to encourage him, would ſometimes himſelf write in Latin to him: and one of his letters to him is yet extant in Fox.

The Archbiſhop delights in this Prince's proficiency.

293

King Edward's writings. His great parts might be seen by his letters, journals, memorials, diſcourſes, and writings; which were many: divers loſt, but of thoſe that are yet extant, theſe are the moſt:

Fox. A letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his godfather, from Ampthil, in Latin, being then but about ſeven years old.

Fox. Another in Latin to the Archbiſhop from Hartford: which was an anſwer to one from the Archbiſhop.

Mr. Petyt's MSS. A letter in French to his ſiſter, the Lady Elizabeth, writ December 18, 1546.

Sir W. H. MSS. A letter to his uncle, the Duke of Somerſet, after his ſucceſs againſt the Scots, 1547.

Sir W. H. MSS. To Queen Katharine Par, after her marriage with the Lord Admiral his uncle.

Sir W. H. MSS. Another letter to her.

Ibid. A letter to the Earl of Hartford, his couſin, in Latin.

Full. Ch. Hiſt. A letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, concerning the Duke of Somerſet's arraignment.

Full. Ch. Hiſt. Another to B. Fitz-Patrick, conſiſting of inſtructions to him when he went into France.

Ibid. Another to Fitz-Patrick, giving him an account of his progreſs, in Auguſt 1552.

Mr. Petyt's MSS. Orders concerning the habits and apparel of his ſubjects, according to their degrees and qualities.

Mention is alſo made in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of letters in Latin to King Henry his father, at eight years old, and to Queen Katharine Par.

Cotton Lib. and Hiſt. Ref. His journal, writ all with his own hand, from the beginning of his reign 1547, until the 28th of November 1552.

Trinity Col. Libr. A collection of paſſages of Scripture againſt idolatry, in French; dedicated to the Protector.

Cott. librar. A diſcourſe about the reformation of many abuſes both eccleſiaſtical and temporal.

Cott. libr. A reformation of the Order of the Garter; tranſlated out of Engliſh into Latin by King Edward. Theſe four laſt are publiſhed in the Hiſtory of the Reformation, volume ii. among the Collections.

Sir W. H. MSS. A book, written in French by him at twelve years of age, againſt the Pope, entitled, *A l'encontre les abus du Monde.*

Sir W. H. MSS. A memorial, February 1551.

Another memorial, dated October 13, 1552. Sir W. H. MSS.
Another memorial. Ibid.
His prayer a little before his death. Fox.

I ſhall rehearſe none of theſe writings, but only one of the memorials; becauſe it bordereth ſo near upon our preſent Hiſtory, and ſhews ſo much this young Prince's care of religion, and for the good eſtate of the church, animated, admoniſhed, counſelled, and directed in theſe matters by the Archbiſhop.

For Religion. October 13, 1552. 299

I. A catechiſm to be ſet forth, for to be taught in all grammar-ſchools. The King's memorial for religion.

II. An uniformity of doctrine; to which all preachers ſhould ſet their hands.

III. Commiſſions to be granted to thoſe biſhops that be grave, learned, wiſe, ſober, and of good religion, for the executing of diſcipline.

IV. To find fault with the ſlightfulneſs of the paſtors, and to deliver them articles of viſitation, willing and commanding them to be more diligent in their office, and to keep more preachers.

V. The abrogating of the old canon-law, and eſtabliſhment of a new.

VI. The dividing of the biſhoprick of Durham into two; and placing of men in them.

VII. The placing of Harley into the biſhoprick of Hereford.

VIII. The making of more homilies.

IX. The making of more injunctions.

X. The placing of one in a biſhoprick in Ireland, which Turner of Canterbury hath refuſed.

Some of theſe things were already done, and ſome in hand. Hereby we may ſee what further ſteps in the reformation would have been made, had the good King lived. So that, in this King's reign, religion made a good progreſs, and ſuperſtition and idolatry was in a good manner purged out of the church. Which was the more to be wondered at, conſidering the minority of the King, the grievous factions at court, and the too common practice then of ſeoffing

BOOK II. Anno 1553.

and buffooning religion, and the more conſcientious profeſſors of it. For of this ſort of men, ruffians and diſſolute livers, there were many followed the court, and were favourites to the leading men there; I mean, the two Dukes: and proved after baſe time-ſervers and flatterers in the reign of Queen Mary.

The Archbiſhop frequent at council.

During this reign Archbiſhop Cranmer was a very active man, and great deference ſeemed to be given to his judgment, by the King and council, in the matters that were then tranſacting; eſpecially as concerning the reformation of religion. For I find him very frequently at the council-board, and often ſent for thither, or ſent unto when abſent. And here I will not think much to ſet down all the particular days when, and places where, he was preſent in perſon with the privy-counſellors; from the year 1550 beginning, unto the middle of the year 1553, near the time of the King's death; as it was extracted carefully out of a Council-Book, that commenceth at the above-ſaid year.

His preſence in council in the year 1550.

Anno 1550. April 19, he was preſent at the council then at Greenwich. This month one Putto, who had been put to ſilence for his lewd preaching, [that is, againſt the ſteps made in the Reformation,] and did now nevertheleſs, of his own head, preach as lewdly as he had done before, was referred to the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhop of Ely, to be corrected, April 28. The Archbiſhop preſent at council, May 2, 4, 7, 11, (on this day the Duke of Somerſet was called again to council,) and 15. At the Star-chamber, May 16. At Weſtminſter, May 28, June 5. At Greenwich, June 8, 11, 13, 20, 22. At Weſtminſter, June 28, 29, 30. and July 1: about which time the Archbiſhop ſeemed to depart into his dioceſe, and there to remain that ſummer. October 11. there was an order of council for a letter to be writ to him, in anſwer to his of complaint againſt the Vicar of Dertford, to impriſon him for his diſobedience unto him; and in priſon to endure, until the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould come to court. October 18. was another order of council for three letters to be writ: the one to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, another to the Biſhop of Ely, and another to the Biſhop of Lincoln. "Becauſe (as the words run) the parliament "draweth near: before which time his Majeſty thinketh it

300

"expedient to have ſome matters there to be conſulted. CHAP.
"Their lordſhips were required immediately to repair to the XXXV.
"court, where they ſhall underſtand his Majeſty's further Anno 1552.
"pleaſure. And that day his Grace was ſent for." November 11. he was preſent at council. At Weſtminſter, November 16, 17, 18, 26. December 4, when the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of Ely anſwered the Biſhop of Chicheſter, then before the council, as to the texts by him produced in behalf of altars. December 5, 9, 11, 13: on which day a letter was ſent to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to bring the Biſhop of Wincheſter to Lambeth before the Archbiſhop. January 13. he was preſent at the council at Greenwich, when Hoper was ordered to be committed to the Archbiſhop's cuſtody. Preſent again at council at Greenwich, February 8. At Weſtminſter the 16, 18: then, upon the report of the Archbiſhop made of one Young, a learned man, [I ſuppoſe he of Cambridge, that was Bucer's antagoniſt,] *viz.* that he had preached ſeditiouſly, [againſt the King's proceedings in religion,] it was ordered that the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhop of Ely, ſhould examine him, and thereupon order him, as they ſhould think good. He was preſent at council, ſtill at Weſtminſter, March 4, 8, (when he was appointed to receive a ſum of money in reſpect of his charges and pains in his proceſs againſt the late Biſhop of Wincheſter, now deprived,) 9, 11, 12, 22, 24.

Anno 1551. March 26, 31. At Greenwich, April the 8, 9, In the year
11, 26. May 4, 10, 24, 25. June 4, 14, (when a letter was 1551.
given to the Archbiſhop to ſend to the Lieutenant of the Tower, for the bringing White, Warden of New College in Wincheſter, and delivering him to the Archbiſhop, to remain with him till he might reclaim him,) 15, 21, 22. At Richmond, Auguſt 9. At Hampton-Court, October 1: when a licence was granted to Wolf, under the King's privilege, to print the Archbiſhop's book. At Weſtminſter, October 17, 19, 22, 28. November 2, 5, 9, 10, 15, 17, 21, 26. December 11, 12, (13, a letter was ſent from the council to the Archbiſhop to ſend them a book touching religion, ſent out of Ireland,) 17, 18, 19. January 24, 31. February 8, 16, 22, 28. March 22.

Anno 1552. He was preſent at the council now ſitting at In the year
1552.

BOOK II. Anno 1553.

Weſtminſter, March 30. April 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 18, 19, 24. From which time, till the month of October, he was not at the council, and yet ſeems to have been at home. October 7, the council ſent to him to ſtay his going into Kent till Tueſday, becauſe the lords would confer with him; that is, till October 11, when he was again preſent at council. The Archbiſhop now retired into his dioceſe, and was at his houſe at Ford: whither ſeveral meſſages and letters were ſent to him from the council: as, November 20, they ſent him the Articles of Religion (framed chiefly by him, and reviewed by the King's chaplains) for his laſt review, in order to the putting them into due execution. November 24, another ſent him, according to the minute, of ſome buſineſs unknown. December 2, another letter to him for the inſtalling of Hoper, without paying any fees. And another, February 2, in favour of Mr. Knox, to be by him collated to the living of Allhallows. This month he returned, and was at the council at Weſtminſter. Likewiſe February 21, 22, 25, 27, 28.

Anno 1553. Anno 1553. March 25. April 1, 7. At Greenwich, June 2, 3, 6, 8: and that was the laſt time mentioned in the Council-Book, ending at June 17. Nor cared he to come afterwards, the buſineſs then in tranſaction not pleaſing him.

A Biſhop conſecrated.

John Harley. May 26. John Harley, S. T. P. was conſecrated (and was the laſt that was conſecrated in this King's reign) Biſhop of Hereford, upon the death of Skip, by the Archbiſhop, at Croyden chapel; Nicolas Biſhop of London, and Robert Biſhop of Carliſle, aſſiſting. This Harley was one of the King's ſix chaplains, Bill, Bradford, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, being the other five, that were appointed to be itineraries, to preach ſound doctrine in all the remoteſt parts of the kingdom, for the inſtruction of the ignorant in right religion to God, and obedience to the King.

The end of the Second Book.

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Queen Mary ſoon recognized. The Archbiſhop ſlandered and impriſoned.

I FIND the Archbiſhop preſent among Queen Jane's counſellors: whoſe party ſeemed to be reſolute for her until the 19th of July. All theſe perſons of quality were with her in the Tower, conſulting of affairs for her ſervice: Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the Biſhop of Ely, Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Wincheſter, Lord Treaſurer; the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the Earls of Bedford, Arundel, Shrewſbury, Pembroke; the Lords Darcy and Paget; Sir Thomas Cheiney, Sir Richard Cotton, Sir William Petre, Sir John Cheke, Sir John Baker, Sir Robert Bowes; being all of her council All which (excepting Northumberland) ſigned a letter, dated July 19, to the Lord Rich, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Eſſex, who had ſignified to them that the Earl of Oxford was fled to the Lady Mary. In their letter they exhorted him to ſtand true and tight to Queen Jane, as they ſaid they did, and would do. It was penned by Cheke; for Secretary Cecyl was abſent, and Petre, the other Secretary, though preſent, did it not, though he ſigned it. The letter is in the Appendix. The day before this letter was ſent, *viz.* July 18, there being a riſing in Buckinghamſhire, and the parts thereabouts, Queen

Anno 1553.

The Archbiſhop's and counſellors' concern with the Lady Jane.

No. LXIX.

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

Jane herſelf, thinking herſelf ſure of Sir John Bridges and Sir Nicolas Poyntz, ſigned a letter to them, therein ordering them to raiſe with ſpeed all the power they could of their ſervants, tenants, officers, and friends, to allay that tumult: and ſo ſhe had written to other gentlemen in thoſe parts to do. This letter alſo I have put in the Appendix.

No. LXX.

They declare for Queen Mary.

And yet, (to ſee the viciſſitude of men's minds, and uncertainty of human affairs,) July 20, divers of thoſe very counſellors, that but the day before ſet their hands reſolvedly to ſtand by Queen Jane, proclaimed Queen Mary in the city of London, and immediately diſpatched the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget unto her with a letter, writ from Baynard's Caſtle, (where they now were removed from the Tower.) In which letter "they beg her pardon, and "to remit their former infirmities, and aſſure her, calling "God to witneſs to the ſame, that they were ever in their "hearts her true ſubjects ſince the King's death: but could "not utter their minds before that time without great de-"ſtruction and bloodſhed of themſelves and others." The copy of this letter may be read in the Appendix.

No. LXXI.

And write to Northumberland to lay down his arms.

The ſame day the council wrote to the Duke of Northumberland their letters, dated from Weſtminſter, ſent by an herald: wherein the Duke was commanded and charged, in Queen Mary's name, to diſarm and diſcharge his ſoldiers, and to forbear his return to the city, until the Queen's pleaſure. And the ſame was to be declared to the Marquis of Northampton, and all other gentlemen that were with him. The herald was alſo, by virtue of his letters from the council, to notify in all places where he came, "that if the Duke "did not ſubmit himſelf to the Queen's Highneſs, he ſhould "be taken as a traitor, and they of the late King's council "would perſecute him to his utter confuſion." And thus far our Archbiſhop went. For this was ſigned by him, and the Biſhop of Ely, Lord Chancellor; the Marquis of Winchester, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Bedford, Shrewſbury, Pembrook; the Lord Darcy, Sir Richard Cotton; Petre and Cecyl, Secretaries; Sir John Baker, Sir John Maſon, Sir Robert Bowes. The Duke ſaw it in vain to oppoſe, and ſo ſubmitted to this order: and the plot that his

Stow.

ambition had been framing ſo long, and with ſo much art, fell on a ſudden. CHAP. I.

Anno 1553.

Very ſpeedily Queen Mary was owned abroad, as well as at home: Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury; Sir William Pickering, Sir Thomas Chaloner, ambaſſadors in France, writ their letters to her and the council, acknowledging her, and ceaſing any further to act as ambaſſadors. She continued Dr. Wotton, and ſent for Pickering and Chaloner home; and ſent Sir Anthony St. Leger, the beginning of Auguſt, ambaſſador thither, joined with Wotton. This determination the council, Auguſt 12, ſignified to the ſaid three ambaſſadors. The Queen owned by the ambaſſadors.

But now to caſt our eyes upon the ſtate of religion at this time. Upon this acceſs of Queen Mary to the crown, whoſe intereſt as well as education made her a zealous Papiſt, the good progreſs of religion was quite overthrown; and the pious Archbiſhop's pains and long endeavours in a great meaſure fruſtrated; and he himſelf ſoon after exerciſed with great afflictions. The firſt pretended occaſion of which was this: it was reported abroad, ſoon after King Edward's death, that the Archbiſhop had offered to ſing the maſs and *Requiem* at the burial of that King, either before the Queen, or at St. Paul's church, or any where elſe; and that he had ſaid or reſtored maſs already in Canterbury. This indeed had the Suffragan of Dover, Dr. Thornton, done; but without the Archbiſhop's conſent or knowledge. The Archbiſhop miſreported to have ſaid maſs.

But however, ſuch good impreſſions of religion had the Archbiſhop left at Canterbury, that, though maſs was ſet up there, and prieſts were through fear forced to ſay it, yet it was utterly contrary to their wills. And, about new-year's-tide, there was a prieſt ſaid maſs there one day, and the next came into the pulpit, and deſired all the people to forgive him. For he ſaid, "he had betrayed Chriſt; but not as "Judas did, but Peter." And then he made a long ſermon againſt the maſs. Maſs at Canterbury. 305

But the aforeſaid ſlanderous report ſo troubled the Archbiſhop, that, to ſtay it, he wrote a letter to a friend of his, that he never made any promiſe of ſaying maſs, nor that he did ſet up the maſs in Canterbury: but that it was done by "a falſe, flattering, lying monk, Dr. Thornden," (ſuch a Which he makes a public declaration againſt.

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

character in his juſt anger he gave him,) who was Suffragan of Dover, and Vicedean of that church, in the abſence of Dr. Wotton, who was then abroad in embaſſy. This Thornden, ſaith my manuſcript, (writ but a few years after by Scory, or Becon, as I conjecture,) was "a man having nei- "ther wit, learning, nor honeſty. And yet his wit is very "ready. For he preacheth as well *extempore*, as at a year's "warning: ſo learnedly, that no man can tell what he "chiefly intendeth or goeth about to prove: ſo aptly, that "a groſs of points is not ſufficient to tie his ſermon toge- "ther: not unlike to Jodocus a monk, of whom Eraſmus "maketh mention in his Colloquies, who, if he were not "garniſhed with theſe glorious titles, Monk, Doctor, Vice- "dean, and Suffragan, were worthy to walk openly in the "ſtreets with a bell and cock's comb." Beſides this letter, the Archbiſhop reſolved to do ſomething in a more public manner, in vindication of the reformation, as well as of himſelf. So he deviſed a declaration: wherein he both apologized for himſelf againſt this falſe report, and made a brave challenge, with the aſſiſtance of Peter Martyr, and a few more, to maintain, by diſputation with any man, the reformation made under King Edward. This declaration, after a firſt draught of it, he intended to enlarge; and then, being ſealed with his own ſeal, to ſet it upon the doors of St. Paul's church, and other churches in London. This writing, wherein the good religion and doctrine practiſed and taught in the former reign was ſo nobly owned, and offered to be defended in ſuch a public manner, was not only read by ſomebody boldly in Cheapſide, but many copies thereof were taken; and ſo became diſperſed. It was alſo ſoon after printed in Latin, and, I ſuppoſe, in Engliſh too. Sure I am, in the year 1557, it was printed beyond ſea by the exiles: from which print I ſhall here tranſcribe it, being ſent from Grindal to John Fox, for his uſe in the writing his hiſtory.

Foxii MSS.

A Declaration of the Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, condemning the untrue and ſlanderous Report of ſome, which have reported, That he ſhould ſet up the Maſs at Canterbury, at the firſt coming of the Queen to her Reign 1553. CHAP. I. Anno 1553.

"AS the Devil, Chriſt's ancient adverſary, is a liar, and "the father of lying; even ſo hath he ſtirred his ſervants "and members to perſecute Chriſt, and his true word and "religion. Which he ceaſeth not to do moſt earneſtly at "this preſent. For whereas the moſt noble Prince of fa- "mous memory, King Henry VIII. ſeeing the great abuſes "of the Latin maſſes, reformed ſomething herein in his 306 "time; and alſo our late ſovereign Lord King Edward VI. "took the ſame whole away, for the manifold errors and "abuſes thereof, and reſtored in the place thereof Chriſt's "holy ſupper, according to Chriſt's own inſtitution, and as "the Apoſtles in the primitive church uſed the ſame in the "beginning: the Devil goeth about by lying to overthrow "the Lord's holy ſupper, and to reſtore the Latin ſatisfac- "tory maſſes, a thing of his own invention and device. And, "to bring the ſame more eaſily to paſs, ſome have abuſed "the name of me, Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, bruit- "ing abroad, that I have ſet up the maſs at Canterbury, "and that I offered to ſay maſs before the Queen's High- "neſs, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. I have "been well exerciſed theſe twenty years to ſuffer and bear "evil reports and lies; and have not been much grieved "thereat, and have borne all things quietly. Yet when un- "true reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, "they be in no wiſe to be tolerate and ſuffered. Wherefore "theſe be to ſignify to the world, that it was not I that did "ſet up the maſs at Canterbury; but it was a falſe, flatter- "ing, lying, and diſſembling monk, which cauſed the maſs "to be ſet up there, without my advice or counſel. The declaration.

"And as for offering myſelf to ſay maſs before the "Queen's Highneſs, or in any other place, I never did, as "her Grace knoweth well. But if her Grace will give me "leave, I ſhall be ready to prove againſt all that will ſay "the contrary; and that the Communion Book, ſet forth

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

"by the moſt innocent and godly Prince, King Edward VI. "in his high court of parliament, is conformable to the "order which our Saviour Chriſt did both obſerve and "command to be obſerved, and which his Apoſtles and pri- "mitive church uſed many years. Whereas the maſs, in "many things, not only hath no foundation of Chriſt, his "Apoſtles, nor the primitive church, but alſo is manifeſt "contrary to the ſame: and containeth many horrible blaſ- "phemies in it. And although many, either unlearned, or "maliciouſly, do report, that Mr. Peter Martyr is un- "learned; yet, if the Queen's Highneſs will graunt there- "unto, I, with the ſaid Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or "five which I ſhall chooſe, will, by God's grace, take upon "us to defend, that not only our Common Prayers of the "churches, miniſtration of the ſacraments, and other rites "and ceremonies, but alſo that all the doctrine and religion, "by our ſaid ſovereign Lord King Edward VI. is more "pure, and according to God's word, than any that hath "been uſed in England theſe thouſand years: ſo that God's "word may be the judge, and that the reaſon and proofs "may be ſet out in writing. To thentent as well all the "world may examine and judge them, as that no man ſhall "ſtart back from their writing; and what faith hath been "in the church theſe fifteen hundred years, we will joyne "with them in this point: and that the doctrine and uſage "is to be followed, which was in the church fifteen hun- "dred years paſt. And we ſhall prove, that the order of "the church, ſet out at this preſent in this church of Eng- "land by act of parliament, is the ſame that was uſed in the
307 "church fifteen hundred years paſt. And ſo ſhall they never "be able to prove theirs."

Appears before the commiſſioners at Paul's.

Some copies of this declaration ſoon fell into the hands of certain biſhops, who brought them to the council. The council ſent a copy to the Queen's commiſſioners: who ſoon after ordered him to appear before them, and to bring in an inventory of his goods. The reaſon, as is alleged, of his being ordered to bring in this inventory, was, becauſe it was then intended that he ſhould have a ſufficient living aſſigned him, and to keep his houſe, and not meddle with religion. So on the day appointed, which was Auguſt 27, the Arch-

bifhop, together with Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to King Edward, and May, Dean of St. Paul's, came before the Queen's commiffioners in the conſiſtory of Paul's: and the Archbiſhop brought in his inventory. We are left to gueſs what he was now cited for. I ſuppoſe, it was to lay to his charge hereſy, and his marriage; what more was done with him at this time I find not. He retired to his houſe at Lambeth, where he ſeemed to be confined. CHAP. I. Anno 1553.

For about the beginning of Auguſt, as may be collected from a letter of the Archbiſhop's to Cecyl, he was before the council, about the Lady Jane's buſineſs, without all queſtion. And then, with the ſevere reprimands he received, was charged to keep his houſe, and be forthcoming. At that time he eſpied Cecyl, who was in the ſame condemnation; and would fain have ſpoken with him, but durſt not, as he told him in a letter dated Auguſt 14; as it ſeems, out of his love and care of him, leſt his very talking with Cecyl might have been prejudicial to that pardon which he now lay fair for. But by letter he deſired him to come over to him to Lambeth, becauſe he would gladly commune with him, to hear how matters went, and for ſome other private cauſes, Cecyl being now at liberty. September 13. following, the Archbiſhop was again ſummoned to appear that day before the Queen's council. Then he appeared, and was diſmiſſed; but commanded to be the next day in the Star-chamber. And ſo he was. The effect of which appearance was, that he was committed to the Tower, partly for ſetting his hand to the inſtrument of the Lady Jane's ſucceſſion, and partly for the public offer he made a little before of juſtifying openly the religious proceedings of the deceaſed King. But the chief reaſon was, the inveterate malice his enemies conceived againſt him for the divorce of King Henry from the Queen's mother: the blame of which they laid wholly upon him, though Biſhop Gardiner and other biſhops were concerned in it as deep as he. In the Tower we leave the good Archbiſhop awhile, after we have told you, that, ſoon after the Queen coming to the Tower, ſome of the Archbiſhop's friends made humble ſuit for his pardon, and that he might have acceſs to her: but ſhe would neither hear him, nor ſee him. And before the council.

BOOK III.

Anno 1553.

The Archbishop of York committed to the Tower; and his goods seized: C.C.C.C. Librar. Miscell. B

Holgate also, the other Archbishop, about the beginning of October, was committed to the Tower, upon pretence of treason, or great crimes: but chiefly, I suppose, because he was rich. And, while he was there, they rifled his houses at Batterſea and Cawood. At his former house they seized in gold coined three hundred pounds; in specialties and good debts, four hundred pounds more; in plate gilt and parcel gilt, sixteen hundred ounces: a mitre of fine gold with two pendants, set round about the sides and midst with very fine pointed diamonds, sapphires, and baliis, and all the plain with other good stones and pearls, and the pendants in like manner, weighing one hundred twenty-five ounces. Six or seven great rings of fine gold, with stones in them; whereof were three fine blue sapphires of the best; an emerald, very fine; a good Turkeys, and a diamond; a serpent's tongue set in a standard of silver, gilt and graven; the Archbishop's seal in silver, his signet, an old antick in gold: the counterpane of his lease of Wotton, betwixt the late Duke of Northumberland and him, with letters patents of his purchase of Scrowby.

308

At Batterſea.

At Cawood.

Taken from Cawood, and other places appertaining to the Archbishop, by one Ellis Markham; first, in ready money, nine hundred pounds: two mitres; in plate, parcel gilt, seven hundred and seventy ounces; and gilt plate, eleven hundred fifty-seven ounces; one broken cross of silver gilt, with one image broken, weighing forty-six ounces; three obligations, one 37l. 5s. 10d; another for 15l; another for 10l. Sold by the said Markham five score beasts, and four hundred muttons. Sold all the sheep belonging to the Archbishop, supposed to be two thousand five hundred. Moreover, he took away two Turkey-carpets of wool, as big and as good as any subject had: also a chest, full of copes and vestments of cloth of tissue: two very good beds of down, and six of the best young horses that were at Cawood. Proffered to make sale of all his household stuff in five houses; three very well furnished, and two metely well. Sold all his stores of household: wheat, two hundred quarters; malt, five hundred quarters; oats, sixty quarters; wine, five or six tun. Fish and ling, six or seven hundred, with very much household store; as fuel,

hay, with many other things neceſſary for houſehold. Horſes at Cawood, young and old, four or five ſcore: they received rent of his own land, five hundred pounds yearly at the leaſt. This was done by this Markham, upon pretence that he was guilty of treaſon, or great crimes. He gave to many perſons money to the value of an hundred pounds and above, that they ſhould give information againſt him. Beſides, they took away good harneſs and artillery ſufficient for ſeven ſcore men. All this ſpoil was committed when he was caſt in the Tower. Of all this injury he made a ſchedule afterwards, and complained thereof to the lords. By this one inſtance, which I have ſet down at large, as I extracted it from a paper in the Benet college library, we may judge what havock was made of the profeſſors of religion, in their eſtates as well as their perſons; as this Biſhop was ſerved, before any crime was proved againſt him. CHAP. I. Anno 1553.

Thus the other Archbiſhop (of York) was not to go without animadverſion, any more than he of Canterbury. The former lay eighteen months in the Tower, and was depoſed at laſt for being married, as well as Cranmer. Of this Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, in his ſermon at Paul's Croſs, (at which were preſent King Philip and Cardinal Pole,) gave, as he thought, this nipping gird: "Thus while we deſired to "have a ſupreme head among us, it came to paſs, that we "had no head at all; no, not ſo much as our two Arch-"biſhops. For that on one ſide, the Queen, being a woman, "could not be head of the church; and on the other ſide, "they were both convicted of one crime, and ſo depoſed." This Archbiſhop of York continued in priſon till 1554, when the Queen granted the requeſt of the new King for the liberty of a great many priſoners, whereof this Prelate was one. He died the next year through grief (as it is probable) and ſuffering. Gardiner's paſſage of the two Archbiſhops. 309

BOOK III.

Anno 1553.

CHAP. II.

Proteſtant Biſhops and Clergy caſt into Priſons, and deprived.

This reign begins with rigour.

INDEED in this firſt entrance of Queen Mary's reign, it was a wonder to ſee that fierceneſs that it was uſhered in with; the Papiſts thinking that this rigour at firſt would terrify all out of their former principles of true religion, and bring them to the devotion of the church of Rome again. And it was as marvellous to obſerve the ſteadfaſtneſs of the generality of the profeſſors. "This Queen began her "reign after that manner, (I uſe the words of one that "lived in that time,) that it might be conjectured, what "ſhe was like after to prove: ſending up for abundance "of people to appear before the council, either upon the "Lady Jane's buſineſs, or the buſineſs of religion; and "committing great numbers into priſons. And indeed ſhe "boaſted herſelf a virgin ſent of God to ride and tame the "people of England."

Hales oration.

The proteſtant biſhops deprived.

To explain ſomewhat theſe auſterities. They thought fit to begin with the proteſtant clergy, biſhops and others. For this purpoſe a commiſſion was directed to the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Chicheſter, and Durham, men ſufficiently ſoured in their tempers by what befel them in the laſt reign. Theſe were to diſcharge the proteſtant biſhops and miniſters of their offices and places, upon pretence either of treaſon, hereſy, or marriage, or the like, to make way for their own men. "Thus John Tayler, "Biſhop of Lincoln, was deprived, becauſe he had a bad "title, there being this clauſe in the letters patents, "whereby he was made biſhop, *Quamdiu bene ſe geſſerit*, "and becauſe he thought amiſs concerning the Euchariſt. "John Hoper was deprived of the biſhoprick of Worceſter "by the reſtitution of Nicolas Hethe, formerly deprived: "and removed from the ſee of Gloceſter for his marriage, "and other demerits. John Harley, Biſhop of Hereford, "deprived for wedlock and hereſy. Robert Farrar, Biſhop "of St. David's, deprived for wedlock and hereſy. Wil-

Regiſtr. Eccl. Cant.

"liam Barlow, Biſhop of Bath, made a voluntary reſignation. "The biſhoprick of Rocheſter was void three years, ſince "Scory was tranſlated to Chicheſter. John Bird, an old "man, married, was deprived of the biſhoprick of Cheſter. "Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, (for I do "but tranſcribe now out of the regiſter of the church "of Canterbury,) being called into queſtion for high "treaſon, by his own confeſſion was judged guilty thereof: "whence, in the month of December, the ſee of Can- 310
"terbury became vacant. Robert Holgate, Archbiſhop of "York, was deprived for wedlock, and was caſt into the "Tower, and led a private life. The like happened to "Miles Coverdale of Exeter, by the reſtoring John Vayſe, "who, out of fear, had formerly reſigned. Cuthbert "Biſhop of Durham, formerly deprived, was reſtored. "Edmund Bonner, Biſhop of London, reſtored: Nicolas "Ridley being removed from the ſaid ſee, and caſt into "priſon for making an ill ſermon, and being noted for "heretical pravity. Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Win-"cheſter, reſtored: John Poinet being ejected and impri-"ſoned, and deprived of epiſcopacy for being married." To which I muſt add, the ſee of Briſtol, reſigned by Paul Buſh, the Biſhop thereof.

The hard uſage of the inferior clergy.

How they proceeded with the inferior clergy in general for being married, may be meaſured by their proceedings with the clergy of London and Canterbury, which we ſhall ſee by and by: ſo that King Edward's clergy were now in the very beginning of this Queen very hardly uſed. "Some were deprived, never convict, no, nor never called [a]; "(I uſe the words of an [b] author that lived in that "Queen's reign, and felt her ſeverity;) ſome called that "were faſt locked in priſon, and yet nevertheleſs deprived "immediately [c]. Some deprived without the cauſe of mar-"riage after their orders [d]. Some induced to reſign upon "promiſe of penſion, and the promiſe, as yet, never per-

[a] Mr. Rich. Wilks.

[b] Dr. Parker.

[c] Mr. Bradford, Bullingham, and May.

[d] A great number.

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

"formed [e]. Some ſo deprived, that they were ſpoiled of "their wages, for the which they ſerved the half year "before; and not ten days before the receipt ſequeſtered "from it. Some prevented from his half year's receipt, "after charges of tenths and ſubſidy paid, and yet not "deprived ſix weeks after. Some deprived of their receipts "ſomewhat after the day, with the which their fruits to "the Queen's Majeſty ſhould be contented. And in "general the deprivations were ſo ſpeedy, ſo haſtily, ſo "without warning, &c. The biſhops (ſaith another [f] writer "and ſufferer in theſe days) that were married were "thruſt out of the parliament-houſe, and all married deans "and archdeacons out of the convocation: many put "out of their livings, and others reſtored, without form of "law. Yea ſome noblemen and gentlemen were de-"prived of thoſe lands which the King had given them, "without tarrying for any law, leſt my Lord of Win-"cheſter ſhould have loſt his quarter's rent. Many churches "were changed, many altars ſet up, many maſſes ſaid, many "dirges ſung, before the law was repealed. All was done "in poſt haſte."

Preface to the *Diſcipline of Prieſts' Marriage.*

Harbour for faithful Subjects.

Profeſſors caſt into the Marſhalſea.

Nor was their deprivation all they endured; but they, together with many other profeſſors of the religion, were taken up very faſt: for Wincheſter did reſolve to make quick work to reduce, if he could, the realm to the old religion. So that they came into the Marſhalſea thick and threefold for religion, ſent by him thither. And, that they might be ſure to ſuffer hardſhip enough, when the Biſhop's almoner, Mr. Brooks, (he who was, I ſuppoſe, after Biſhop of Gloceſter,) came to this priſon with his maſter's alms-baſket, he told the porter, named Britain, that it was his lord's pleaſure that none of the hereticks that lay there, ſhould have any part of his alms. And that, if he knew any of them had any part thereof, that houſe ſhould never have it again ſo long as he lived. To which the porter replied, "That he would have a care of that, he "would warrant him; and that, if they had no meat till "they had ſome of his Lordſhip's, they ſhould be like to

Win-cheſter's alms.

311

[e] Dr. Ponet, Tayler, Parker. [f] Mr. Aylmer.

"ſtarve. And ſo he bad him tell his lord: and added, "That they ſhould get no favour at his hand." CHAP. II. Anno 1556.

Theſe ſufferings P. Martyr, now gotten out of England, took notice of in a letter to Calvin, dated November 3; where, having related to him how the two Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the Biſhops of Worceſter and Exon, and many other learned and pious preachers, were in bonds for the Goſpel, and, together with them, many other godly perſons were in extreme danger, he proceeded to mention two things to Calvin, to mitigate the trouble he knew he conceived for this ill news. The one was, "That, "although the infirmity of ſome betrayed them, yet great "was the conſtancy of far more than he could have "thought. So that he doubted not England would have "many famous martyrs, if Wincheſter, who then did all, "ſhould begin to rage according to his will. The other "was, that it was the judgment of all that this calamity "would not be long: and therefore," ſaid Martyr, "let us "pray to God, that he would quickly tread down Satan "under the feet of his church." Peter Martyr writes of this to Calvin. P. Martyr's Epiſt.

The fame learned man, ſpeaking in another letter concerning the good forwardneſs of religion at the firſt coming of Queen Mary to the crown, ſaid, "That he had "many ſcholars in England, ſtudents in divinity, not to be "repented of, whoſe harveſt was almoſt ripe: whom he "was forced to ſee, either wandering about in uncertain "ſtations, or remaining at home unhappily ſubverted. "And that there was in this kingdom many holy as well as "learned biſhops, that were then in hard confinement, and "ſoon to be dragged to the extremeſt puniſhments, as if "they were robbers. And that here was the foundation of "the Goſpel, and of a noble church laid: and by the "labours of ſome years the holy building had well gone "forward, and daily better things were hoped for. But "that unleſs Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς μηχανῆς, *God from above*, came to "the ſuccour of it, he thought there would not be a "footſtep of godlineſs left at laſt, as to the external pro-"feſſion." The ſtate of the church now. *P. Martyr antico cuidam.*

All the matters of the church the Queen left wholly to the management of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, whom the The Queen leaves all matters to Wincheſter.

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

now advanced from a priſoner in the Tower, to be Lord High Chancellor of England. And indeed the governance of the whole realm was committed to him, with a few other. He ruled matters as he would, and that all England knew and ſaw plainly. Nay, the conſent of the whole parliament followed his head and his will. So that againſt their wills, and againſt the wills of many thouſand true hearts in the realm, as they of the parliament well knew, they condeſcended unto him: and what he could not do in one parliament, that he did in another. So that in a year and an half he had three parliaments: during which time, many things the parliament condeſcended unto againſt their wills. As that the Queen ſhould marry with a foreign Prince; that the ſervice in the Engliſh
312 tongue ſhould be taken away; that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould have his old ejected authority here again: as one of
J. Rogers. the divines in thoſe times had intended to have told Winchester to his face, had he been permitted ſpeech.

The Queen crowned.

October 1, the Queen was crowned at the abbey-church at Weſtminſter. And then was proclaimed a pardon; but not over-gracious: for all the priſoners in the Tower and Fleet were excepted, and ſixty-two beſides; whereof the printers of the Bible, Grafton and Whitchurch, were two. Moſt of theſe excepted were of the chief profeſſors of the Goſpel: no pardon for them. At the coronation, among other triumphal ſhows, Paul's ſteeple bare top and topgallant, like a ſhip with many flags and banners, and a man ſtood triumphing and dancing on the top. Whereat one Underhill, a gentleman that ſat on horſeback there to ſee the ſhow, ſaid to thoſe about him, "At the "coronation of King Edward I ſaw Paul's ſteeple lay at "anchor, and now ſhe wears top and topgallant: ſurely "the next will be ſhipwreck or it be long." And indeed there followed a ſhipwreck of the church.

The ſervice ſtill ſaid.

The ſervice eſtabliſhed in King Edward's days did not ceaſe upon Queen Mary's graſping the ſceptre: but the miniſters performed the worſhip of God, and celebrated the holy ſacrament, and uſed the Common Prayer diligently and conſtantly: and the people frequented the ſame with more ſerioufneſs than before. They foreſaw what

times were coming; which made them meet often together, while they might: lamenting bitterly the death of King Edward, and partaking of the ſacrament with much devotion. It was the Biſhop of Wincheſter's reſolution to redreſs this in London: for he was purpoſed to ſtifle the religion as ſpeedily and as vigorouſly as he could. And one way he had to do this was, to ſend his ſpies into all the churches in London: and theſe would come into the churches, and diſturb the miniſters with rude words and actions in their very miniſtration; and then go to the Biſhop, and make their informations. And ſo the miniſters were fetched up by the officers before him, and then committed, unleſs they would comply: and this in the very beginning of the Queen's reign, when the preachers did but according to the laws then in force, before the parliament had repealed the book of Common Prayer, and the reſt of King Edward's reformation. And there were forward men in moſt pariſhes, that were very active and violent for the reſtoring the old ſuperſtitions. For the Queen had ſet forth a proclamation, which did declare what religion ſhe did profeſs in her youth; "that ſhe "did continue in the ſame, and that ſhe minded therein "to end her life: willing all her loving ſubjects to embrace "the ſame." And this they reckoned to be ſufficient warrant to ſet up maſs, and introduce popiſh prieſts and popiſh uſages every where, without ſtaying for orders and acts of parliament.

The Queen's proclamation of her religion.

Nor was this change of religion, and theſe miſeries following it, unexpected. The learned and pious ſort in King Edward's time did reckon upon a great calamity impending over their heads: concluding thereupon, from two cauſes, among others. One was, the corrupt manners that generally overſpread the nation, notwithſtanding the light of the Goſpel, and the much and earneſt preaching up of ſobriety and virtue. The other was, the taking off by death divers moſt eminent men, the great ſtays of religion: ſo that the preachers did commonly in their ſermons declare and foretel, what afterwards indeed fell out. This Becon, an exile, in his epiſtle to thoſe in England that ſuffered perſecution for the teſtimony of

Signs of a change of religion.

318

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

Chriſt's Goſpel, ſpake of in theſe words: "Divers ſigns "had we long before, beſides the godly admonitions of "the faithful preachers, which plainly declared unto us an "utter ſubverſion of the true chriſtian religion to be at "hand, except it were prevented by haſty and harty re- "pentance. What ſhall I ſpeak of that good and mighty "Prince Edward, Duke of Somerſet, which, in the time "of his protectorſhip, did ſo baniſh idolatry out of this our "realm, and bring in again God's true religion, that "it was a wonder ſo weighty a matter to be brought to "paſs in ſo ſhort a time. Was not the ungentle handling "of him, and the unrighteous thruſting him out of office, "and afterwards the cruel murthering of him, a man, "yea, a mirror of true innocency, and chriſtian patience, "an evident token of God's anger againſt us? The ſudden "taking away of thoſe moſt goodly and vertuous young "imps, the Duke of Suffolk and his brother, by the "ſweating ſickneſs, was it not alſo a manifeſt token of "God's heavy diſpleſure againſt us? The death of thoſe "two moſt worthy and godly learned men, M. Paulus "Fagius, and D. Martin Bucer, was it not a ſure prog- "noſtication, ſome great miſhap concerning chriſten re- "ligion to be at hand? But, paſſing over many other, "to come to that which is moſt lamentable, and can never "be remembered of any true Engliſh heart without large "tears, I mean the death of our moſt godly Prince and "chriſten King, Edward VI. that true Joſias, that earneſt "deſtroyer of falſe religion, that fervent ſetter up of God's "true honour, that moſt bounteous patron of the godly "learned, that moſt worthy maintainer of good letters "and vertue, and that perfect and lovely mirror of true "nobility, and ſincere godlineſs: was not the taking away "of him (alas! for ſorrow) a ſure ſign and an evident "token that ſome great evil hanged over this realm of "England? Who, conſidering theſe things, perceived not a "ſhipwreck of the chriſten religion to be at hand?"

CHAP. III.

The Archbiſhop adviſeth Profeſſors to fly.

THE favourers of religion, ſeeing it was now determined to proceed in all manner of ſeverity againſt them, began to flee into other countries for their ſafety as faſt as they could. Indeed there were ſome that made a caſe of conſcience of it: among the reſt, one Mrs. Wilkinſon, a woman of good quality, and a great reliever of good men. Her the Archbiſhop out of priſon adviſed to eſcape, and avoid a place where ſhe could not truly and rightly ſerve God. He took off, with ſpiritual arguments, the objections which ſhe or others might make for their ſtay; as, 314 their lothneſs to leave their friends and relations, and that it might look like a ſlandering of God's word, if they ſhould thus run away, and decline the open and bold defence of it. The letter of the Archbiſhop deſerves to be read, as it fell from that venerable Prelate's own pen: which I have therefore put in the Appendix. Num. LXXII.

Anno 1553. The Archbiſhop adviſeth to flight.

Though Cranmer himſelf refuſed to flee, being adviſed by his friends ſo to do, becauſe of the reports that were abroad, that he ſhould be ſpeedily carried to the Tower. For he ſaid, "It would be no ways fitting for him to go "away, conſidering the poſt in which he was; and to "ſhew that he was not afraid to own all the changes "that were by his means made in religion in the laſt "reign." Cranmer will not flee.

But great numbers fled, ſome to Straſburgh, ſome to Weſel, ſome to Embden, ſome to Antwerp, ſome to Duiſburgh, ſome to Wormes, ſome to Frankford, ſome to Baſil, Zuric, and Arrow in Switzerland, and ſome to Geneva, to the number of eight hundred, and upwards. And theſe are the names of ſome of theſe refugees. Whither the profeſſors fly.

BISHOPS.

Poynet of Wincheſter, Barlow of Bath and Wells, Scory of Chicheſter, Coverdale of Exon, and Bale of Oſſory. And who.

BOOK III.

Anno 1553.

DEANS.

Richard Cox, Dean of Chriſt's Church Oxon, and of Weſtminſter; James Haddon, Dean of Exeter; Robert Horn of Durham; William Turner of Wells; Thomas Sampſon of Chicheſter.

ARCHDEACONS.

Edmund Cranmer, the Archbiſhop's brother, Archdeacon of Canterbury; John Ælmer of Stow; Bullingham of Lincoln; Thomas Young, Precenter of St. David's.

DOCTORS of Divinity and Preachers.

Edmund Grindal, Robert King, Edwin Sands, Joh. Jewel, Reinolds; Pilkingtons, two brothers; John Joſeph, David Whitehead, John Alvey, John Pedder, John Biddil, Thomas Becon, Robert and Richard Turner, Edmund Allein; Levers, three brothers; John Pekins, Tho. Cottisford, Tho. Donel, Alex. Nowel, with his brother; Barthol. Traheron, John Wollock, John Old, John Medwel, Joh. Rough, John Knocks, John Appleby, John Perkhurſt, Edward Large, Galf. Jones, Robert Crowley, Robert Wiſdome, Robert Watſon, William Goodman, Ant. Gilby, Will. Whittingham, John Makebrey, Hen. Reynolds, James Perſe, Jugg, Edmunds, Cole, Mounteyn, two Fiſhers, Da. Simſon, John Bendal, Beaumont, Humfrey, Bentham, Reymiger, Bradbridg, Saul, &c.

Beſides, of noblemen, merchants, tradeſmen, artificers, and plebeians, [r] many hundreds. And God provided graciouſly for them, and raiſed them up friends in England, that
315 made large contributions from time to time for their relief, and for the maintenance of ſuch as were ſcholars and ſtudents in divinity eſpecially. And great was the favour that the ſtrangers ſhewed to their fugitive gueſts.

Duke of Northumberland put to death.

Here at home vengeance was taken upon thoſe that ſet up the Lady Jane. And the chief of all, the Duke of Northumberland, was brought to Tower Hill to loſe his head: who indeed was cared for by no body, and was the only inſtrument of putting the King upon altering the

[r] Chiliades. Pref. to Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, in Latin.

CHAP. III. Anno 1553.

ſucceſſion; and who was broadly talked of to have been the ſhortener of that excellent Prince's life by poiſon, to make room the ſooner for his ſon's advancement, who had married the ſaid Jane. In priſon he was viſited by Biſhop Hethe, and afterwards pretended to be brought off by him to the acknowledgment of the Roman catholic religion. After his condemnation, he, with the Marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a maſs within the Tower, and received the ſacrament in one kind, after the popiſh faſhion. The Duke of Northumberland was drawn hereunto by a promiſe that was made him, "That, if he would recant and "hear maſs, he ſhould have his pardon, yea, though his head "were upon the block."

His ſpeech.

In his ſpeech, Auguſt 22, when he was executed, he acknowledged, "how he had been miſled by others; and "called the preachers ſeditious and lewd, and adviſed the "people to return home to the old religion. And that, "ſince the new religion came among them, God had "plagued them by wars and tumults, famine and peſti-"lence. He propounded the example of the Germans, "how their new doctrine had brought ruin upon them: "and quoted that article in the Creed to them, *I believe* "*the catholic church*, to convince them of the Roman ca-"tholic faith." If this ſpeech were not of Hethe's inditing, to be uſed by the Duke, yet this argument from the Creed, I am apt to think, was his, it being his cuſtom to make uſe of it. For I find, in a conference betwixt this Biſhop and Rogers, he aſked him, if he did not know his Creed, and urged *Credo ſanctam eccleſiam catholicam.* But Rogers could tell him, that he did not find the Biſhop of Rome there. If any be minded to ſee the Duke's ſpeech at length, he may have recourſe to the Appendix, where I have ſet it down, as I found it in one of the Cottonian volumes.

Num. LXXIII.

Sir John Gates his ſpeech;

But Gates and Palmer, notwithſtanding their hearing maſs at their execution the ſame day and place, confeſſed the faith they had learned in the Goſpel. The former confeſſed, "That he had lived as viciouſly and wickedly all "his life, as any in the world. And yet, that he was a

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

"great reader of the Scripture; but a worſe follower there "was not living. For he read it, not to edify, but to "diſpute, and to make interpretations after his own fancy: "exhorting the people to take heed how they read "God's word, and played and gamed with God's holy "myſteries. For he told them, that, except they humbly "ſubmitted themſelves to God, and read his word chari- "tably, and to the intent to be edified thereby; it would "be but poiſon to them, and worſe. And ſo aſked the "Queen, and all the world, forgiveneſs."

And Palmer's.

Palmer thanked God for his affliction: for "that he "had learned more in one little dark corner of the Tower, "than ever he learned by any travels, in as many places "as he had been. There he had ſeen God, what he was, "and his numerous works, and his mercies. And ſeen "himſelf thoroughly what himſelf was; a lump of ſin "and earth, and of all vileneſs the vileſt. And ſo con- "cluding, that he feared not death; that neither the "ſprinkling of the blood of two ſhed before his eyes, nor "the ſhedding thereof, nor the bloody axe itſelf, ſhould "make him afraid. And ſo, praying all to pray for him, he "ſaid ſome prayers, and without any daunting laid down "his head upon the block." 316

The Duke's labours to get his life. Wardword, p. 43.

But the Duke of Northumberland ſubmitted himſelf to baſe and mean practices to ſave his life. He renounced his religion: nay, diſavowed "that he ever was of the re- "ligion profeſſed in King Edward's days, (if we may believe "Parſons,) but only hypocritically, for worldly ends, com- "plied with it. And if he might but have lived, he could "have been contented to ſpend his days in a mouſe-hole." For from a prieſt I have this relation, and the Papiſts beſt knew the intrigues of Queen Mary's reign. After ſen- tence pronounced upon him, he made means to ſpeak with Biſhop Gardiner, who he knew could do moſt of any with the Queen. When the Biſhop came to him, in com- pany with another counſellor, to be witneſs of their diſ- courſe, (who himſelf told my author theſe paſſages,) the Duke aſked the Biſhop, "If there were no hope at all "for him to live, and to do ſome penance the reſt of his "days for his ſins paſt. Alas! (ſaid he,) let me live a

CHAP. III. Anno 1553.

"little longer, though it be but in a mouſe-hole. The "Biſhop replied, That he wiſhed to God any thing could "have contented his Grace but a kingdom, when he "was at liberty, and in proſperity. And even at that "preſent he wiſhed it lay in his power to give him that "mouſe-hole: for he would allow him the beſt palace "he had in the world for that mouſe-hole. And did "moreover then offer to do for him what he could poſſible. "But becauſe his offence (he ſaid) was great, and ſen- "tence paſſed againſt him, and his adverſaries many, it "would be beſt for him to provide for the worſt: and "eſpecially, that he ſtood well with God in matter of con- "ſcience and religion. For to ſpeak plainly, (as he went "on,) it was moſt likely he muſt die. The Duke an- "ſwered, he would diſpoſe himſelf; and deſired he might "have a learned prieſt ſent him for his confeſſion, and "ſpiritual comfort. And as for religion, (ſaid he,) you "know, my Lord Biſhop, that I can be of no other but "of yours, which is the catholic. For I never was of any "other indeed, nor ever ſo fooliſh as to believe any of that "which we had ſet up in King Edward's days; but only "to uſe the ſame for my own purpoſe of ambition: for "which God forgive me. And ſo I mean to teſtify pub- "lickly at my death: for it is true. The Biſhop (ſaith my "author) went away with an afflicted heart, and ſhed many "tears, as he returned: and went to the Queen, and "entreated ſo earneſtly for him, as he had half gained her "conſent for his life. Which ſo much terrified the Duke's "adverſaries, as preſently they got the Emperor Charles, "that was in Flanders, to write to the Queen a very re- "ſolute and earneſt letter, that it was not ſafe for her, nor "his eſtate, to pardon his life. And with that he was exe- "cuted."

Whatever credit is to be given to the reſt of this relation, 317
I can hardly believe that paſſage that he is reported to ſay to the Biſhop, "that he was never otherwiſe than a Roman "catholic, and that he did all along diſſemble his religion "for worldly ends: and that he would teſtify as much at "his death." Becauſe this doth no ways comport with his ſpeech upon the ſcaffold; wherein he mentioneth no ſuch

Whether he was always a Papiſt.

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

thing, but rather the contrary. Nor did he declare any ſuch thing when he came to die. He ſaid, indeed, that he was *deceived and miſled*, but no where that he *diſſembled*. And if he were deceived, he diſſembled not.

CHAP. IV.

Peter Martyr departs. A Parliament.

P. Martyr departs.

THE ſtrangers had this piece of mercy ſhewn them, that they were ſuffered to depart the kingdom. Among the reſt that went away this year was Peter Martyr, the famous and learned profeſſor of divinity in Oxford. But with much ado; for at firſt he was not only forbid to read his lectures, but not to ſtir a foot out of the city of Oxon, nor to convey any of his goods away. He obeyed, and afterwards was permitted by the council to depart. He came firſt to Lambeth to the Archbiſhop; but, when he was committed to priſon, Martyr went to London, where he remained in great danger, both for his religion, and for his great familiarity with the Archbiſhop, and other pious proteſtant biſhops. However, he thought not fit to tranſport himſelf without leave from the government. He ſignified to them, that he came not hither on his own head, but that he was ſent for by King Edward, and ſent from the town of Straſburgh: and produced his broad-ſeals from both. And ſo, ſince there was no further need of him, he deſired leave to depart: which he obtained by letters from the Queen herſelf. But the Papiſts, his fatal enemies, cried out, that ſuch an enemy of the popiſh religion ought not to be diſmiſſed, but to be fetched out of the ſhip, and carried to priſon, and puniſhed. He underſtood alſo by his friends, that, when he was got over the ſea, the danger was not paſt: for there were ſnares for him in Flanders and Brabant; whereby they made no doubt to take him. But he uſed his wits to ſave

himſelf: for, when other congregations of proteſtant ſtrangers went ſtraight, ſome for Freezland, and ſome for Denmark, by veſſels they had hired, (among which was John a Laſco's congregation,) he procured an honeſt and godly ſhipmaſter, who kept him fourteen days in his own houſe, that ſo all might think he was gone with the other ſtrangers, and his enemies ceaſe making ſearch for him in the veſſels that were bound for foreign parts. And then the Maſter ſailed away with P. Martyr to Antwerp, going into that place by night for the more privacy. And by him he was brought to his friends; and by them, before day, conveyed in a waggon out of town, and ſo travelled ſafely, through countries that hated him, unto Straſburgh. And by God's goodneſs, and his own celerity, he arrived ſafe among his friends, who received him with the greateſt joy. And the ſenate conferred upon him his old place which he enjoyed before he went for England. CHAP. IV. Anno 1553. 318 Vit. P. Mart. per Simler.

And Martyr needed not to be diſcontented that he was gotten out of England, conſidering how inſufferably he was affronted, undermined, belied by the popiſh party in Oxon: who, one would think, might have better entreated a man of quality by birth; a man, beſides, of great learning, integrity, and reverence, and whom the King had thought good, for his great parts, to place for his profeſſor of divinity in that univerſity; and a man who alſo had always carried himſelf inoffenſively unto all. The blame of this inhoſpitable uſage might lie upon the Engliſh nation, and be a reflection upon the natives, were it not more truly to be laid to the furious ſpirit that popiſh principles inſpire men with. This Peter Martyr did reſent, and took notice of to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in his epiſtle dedicatory, before his book of the Euchariſt. There he writes, "That he could not have thought there were any in the "world, unleſs he had found it, that with ſuch crafty wiles, "deceitful tricks, and bitter ſlanders, would rage ſo againſt "a man that deſerved no manner of evil of them, nor ever "hurt any one of them either in word or deed. And yet "they tore his name with moſt ſhameleſs lies; and would "never make an end." And if they did thus rudely carry themſelves towards him in King Edward's time, what then Malice towards him.

BOOK III.

may we conclude they would do, when the government favoured them?

Anno 1553.

A ſcandal of the Queen.

In this firſt year of Queen Mary, a very foul ſcandal was blown about of her, that ſhe was with child by her Chancellor, Biſhop Gardiner; however it was raiſed, whether of her enemies to render her odious, or of ſome zealots of popiſh religion, to ſhew the deſire they had of her matching with him, or ſome other round Roman catholic, as he was, and for whom ſhe carried a very great reverence. A great reflection upon her chaſtity, and might have ſpoiled her marriage. It fled as far as Norfolk, and there ſpread itſelf. But ſuch an infamous report not being fit to be put up, Henry Earl of Suſſex, being Lord Lieutenant of that county, took upon him to examine this ſcandal, and to ſearch it to

Titus B. 2.

the very firſt reporter. And ſo I find a bill drawn, in the Cotton library, ſubſcribed by that Earl's own hand, which ſet forth that Laurence Hunt, of Diſſe in Norfolk, came to Robert Lowdal, chief conſtable, and told him, "That he "did hear ſay, that the Queen's Majeſty was with child by "the ſaid Biſhop, and that his wife did tell him ſo." And when his wife was examined, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had it of one Sheldrake's wife. And when Sheldrake's wife was examined, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had it of her huſband. And when he was examined, he ſaid, he had it of one Wilby of Diſs. And Wilby examined, ſaid, he had it of one John Smith of Cock-ſtreet. And John Smith ſaid, he heard it of one widow Miles. And ſhe, being examined, ſaid, ſhe had it of two men, but what they were ſhe could not tell, nor where they dwelt. And then, after this bill, follow all their examinations diſtinctly: which, I ſuppoſe, was drawn up for the council, ſigned with Suſſex's hand. And what followed of this I know not: only in another manuſcript there is a memorial of one John Albone, of Trunch in

319 Norfolk, who in the firſt of the Queen was indicted for ſaying, "That the Queen was with child by Win-"cheſter."

A parliament.

A parliament met this year in the month of October. The Queen knew how difficult it would be to obtain her purpoſe, to overthrow all that had been eſtabliſhed concerning religion in her brother's days; and therefore, when

this parliament was to be fummoned, ſhe impeached the free election of members by diſpatching abroad into the ſeveral counties her letters directing the choice. And ſuch knights and burgeſſes were choſen by force and threatening for many places, as were judged fit to ſerve her turn. And divers that were duly choſen, and lawfully returned, were thruſt out; and others, without any order or law, put in their places. For the people were aware what the Queen intended this parliament ſhould do; and therefore did beſtir themſelves in moſt places to return honeſt men. In the upper Houſe, Taylor, Biſhop of Lincoln, was in his robes violently thruſt out of the Houſe. In the Houſe of Commons, Alexander Nowel, and two more, choſen burgeſſes, lawfully choſen, returned, and admitted, were ſo ſerved: which, according to the judgment of ſome, made the parliament actually void, as by a precedent of the parliament holden at Coventry in the 38th of Henry VI. it appeareth. As alſo her third parliament was reckoned by many to be void, becauſe in the writs, from Philip and Mary, part of the title of the Kings of England, *viz. Supreme Head of the Church of England*, was left out: which by a ſtatute made in the 35th of Henry VIII. was ordained to be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm. In which third parliament of the Queen they repealed what was done by King Henry VIII. for the reſtitution of the liberty of the realm, and extinguiſhing the uſurped authority of the Biſhop of Rome. This flaw Gardiner the Lord Chancellor well ſeeing, thought craftily to excuſe by ſaying, (as may be ſeen in a piece of the ſtatute made in the ſame parliament, cap. 8.) "That it lay in the "free choice and free liberty of the Kings of this realm, "whether they would expreſs the ſame title in their ſtyle, "or no." But it is replied to this, that though any man may renounce his own private right, yet he may not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third perſon. And this title and ſtyle more touched the commonwealth and the realm of England, than the King.

Hales oration.

In this firſt parliament an act was made for confirmation of the marriage of the Queen's mother to her father

The parliament repeal Queen

BOOK III. King Henry. Herein the leading men ſhewed their malice againſt the good Archbiſhop by their wording of the preamble: as, "that Thomas Cranmer, late Archbiſhop, "did, moſt ungodly and againſt law, judge the divorce "upon his own unadviſed underſtanding of the Scriptures, "and upon the teſtimonies of the univerſities, and ſome "bare and moſt untrue conjectures." And they declared the ſentence given by him to be unlawful. But I cannot let this paſs, for the reputation of the Archbiſhop, without taking notice of the cenſure, that the Biſhop of Sarum doth worthily beſtow upon Biſhop Gardiner, whom he concludes to be the drawer up of this act: "That he ſhewed "himſelf herein to be paſt all ſhame, and that it was as "high a pitch of malice and impudence, as could be de-"viſed. For Gardiner had been ſetting this on long before "Cranmer was known to the King, and had joined with "him in the commiſſion, and had given his conſent to the "ſentence. Nor was the divorce merely grounded upon "Cranmer's underſtanding the Scriptures, but upon the "fulleſt and moſt ſtudied arguments that had perhaps "been in any age brought together in one particular caſe. "And both houſes of convocation had condemned the mar-"riage before his ſentence."

Anno 1553. Katherine's divorce; and Cranmer taxed for it.

Hiſt. Reform. vol. ii. p. 254.

CHAP. V.

The Archbiſhop attainted.

The Archbiſhop attainted of treaſon. THIS parliament attainted Cranmer, with the Lady Jane and her huſband, and ſome others. And in November he was adjudged guilty of high treaſon at Guildhall. And under this judgment he lay for a good while: which was very uneaſy to him, deſiring to ſuffer under the imputation of hereſy under this government, rather than treaſon. He was now looked upon as diveſted of his archbiſhopric, being a perſon attainted: and the fruits of his biſhopric were ſequeſtered.

CHAP. V.

Anno 1554.

Canterbury being now without an Archbiſhop, the Dean, Dr. Wotton, acted in that ſtation, according to his office, in the vacancy of the ſee. So he ſent out many commiſſions. There was a commiſſion from him to John Cotterel and William Bowerman, to exerciſe juriſdiction in the ſee of Wells, by the reſignation of Barlow, Biſhop there. Another commiſſion to the ſee of Briſtol, upon the reſignation of Buſh. Another for the ſee of Litchfield, upon the death of Richard Sampſon: which commiſſion was directed to David Pool, LL. D. dated 1554. September ult. Another to exerciſe juriſdiction in the ſee of Exon, vacant by the death of Veyſy, February 9, 1554. Another for the conſecration of Gilbert Bourn Biſhop of Bath and Wells, John White Biſhop of Lincoln, Morice Griffith of Rocheſter, John Cotes of Cheſter, Henry Morgan of St. David's, James Brook of Gloceſter: who were all conſecrated together in the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, April 1, 1554. This commiſſion, I ſuppoſe, was to the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Another commiſſion for the conſecration of Hopton Biſhop of Norwich, dated October 6, 1554, conſecrated October 28. following. Another commiſſion to conſecrate Holiman Biſhop of Briſtol, and Bayn Biſhop of Litchfield, dated November 16, 1554, conſecrated November 18. following. Another commiſſion to conſecrate James Turbervil Biſhop of Exon, who was conſecrated September 8, 1555. And for William Glin, Biſhop of Bangor, the ſame date. All theſe five laſt named were conſecrated in a chapel of the Biſhop of London in London.

The Dean of Canterbury acts in the vacancy.

Ex Reg. Eccl. Cant.

The poor Archbiſhop moſt inſtantly ſued to the Queen for his pardon, acknowledging his fault in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner that could be. But though ſhe had granted pardons to divers others that had ſigned King Edward's will, and made no ſuch boggle to do it as the Archbiſhop did, yet the Archbiſhop remained unpardoned. He ſent divers humble petitionary letters to the Queen and her council for the obtaining this favour. In one letter to her, he called it his "hainous folly and offence:" and ſaid, "that he never "liked it; nor that any thing that the Queen's brother ever "did, grieved him ſo much: and that if it had been in his "power, he would have letted the doing of it: that divers

The Archbiſhop ſues for pardon of treaſon.

321

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

"of the Queen's council knew what he had ſaid to the "King and the council againſt proceeding in it: and that "he endeavoured to talk to the King alone about it, but "was not permitted: and that when he could not diſſuade "him from this will, he was hardly brought to ſign it, not-"withſtanding what the judges told him, to ſatisfy him in "point of law. And that at laſt it was the King's earneſt "requeſt to him, that he would not be the only man that "refuſed it: which, with the judgment of the lawyers, "overcame him to ſet his hand." But I refer the reader to the Appendix to weigh this whole letter, as it is there tranſcribed. Another petition the next year, 1554, he ſent up from Oxon, by Dr. Weſton, to the council. And therein he begged them to intercede with the Queen for his pardon. But Weſton, carrying it half way to London, and then opening it, and ſeeing the contents of it, ſent it back again to the Archbiſhop, and refuſed to be the meſſenger.

Num. LXXIV.

Obtains it.

This at length was the reſolution that was taken concerning him in this matter: (becauſe for ſhame they could not deny him a pardon, when others, far more guilty, and deeper in the buſineſs, had it:) that he ſhould be pardoned the treaſon as an act of the Queen's grace, and then he ſhould be proceeded againſt for hereſy; for die they were reſolved he ſhould. When this pardon was at length obtained, he was right glad; being very gladly ready to undergo afflictions for the doctrine that he had taught, and the reformation he had ſet on foot, becauſe this he reckoned to be ſuffering for God's cauſe, and not as an evil-doer.

He deſires to open his mind to the Queen concerning religion.

The Archbiſhop looked now with weeping eyes upon the preſent ſad condition of religion, and the miſerable apoſtaſy of the church, lapſed into all the formerly rejected ſuperſtitions. Nor could he now procure any redreſs. Yet he felt a preſſure upon his ſpirit to do ſomething towards it. So he attempted, in a letter to the Queen, to get liberty from her freely to open to her his mind about the ſtate of religion: hoping that when ſhe heard plainly and truly the reaſons that moved her father and brother to do what they did, (a thing ſtudiouſly concealed from her,) ſhe might be better inclined. He told her, "that indeed it lay not in him, nor in "any private ſubject, to reform things, but only in her Ma-

"jesty, but quietly to suffer what they could not amend; CHAP. V.
"yet he thought it his duty, considering what place he once Anno 1553.
"bore, and knowing what he did, and bearing a great part
"in all the alterations made in religion, to shew the Queen
"his mind. And when he had done this, then he should
"think himself discharged. And therefore he earnestly sued
"to her for her leave." But I do not find that ever he obtained it.

CHAP. VI. 323

A Convocation.

THERE was now a convocation; which was so packed, or so compliant, that six only of the whole house publickly owned King Edward's reformation: Haddon, Dean of Exon; Philips, Dean of Rochester; Young, Chanter of St. David's; Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester; Elmer, Archdeacon of Stow; and Cheiny, Archdeacon of Hereford; which last owned the presence with the Papists, but denied the transubstantiation. The Queen commanded this convocation to hold a public disputation, at St. Paul's church, concerning the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar: which, how well it was opposed by four or five of the six, (for Young went away,) in the presence of abundance of noblemen and others, recourse is to be had to Fox. There was a true report of the disputation of these men at this convocation, which Philpot, one of the disputants, wrote, and had it printed: which he owned at one of his examinations before the Bishop of London and others; and perhaps may be the same we have extant in Fox's Monuments. A convocation.

But because both Fox and Bishop Burnet are brief concerning the opening of this convocation, therein I shall be more large and particular. The Bishop of London's chaplain, Harpsfield, began in a sermon at Paul's to the clergy then assembled. That finished, those of the upper House advised those of the lower to choose a Prolocutor. And they How it opened

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

choſe Weſton, Dean of Weſtminſter: who by Py, Dean of Chicheſter, and Wymbetly, Archdeacon of London, was preſented by ſpeeches to the biſhops. At which time Weſton made his gratulatory oration to the Houſe, and the Biſhop of London anſwered him. Which ſermon and four orations were put together in a book, printed in December 1553, by Cawood. Harpsfield's text was, *Attendite vobis, et univerſo gregi, &c.* Act. xx. Whence he took occaſion to treat of three things: "I. How well Paul took heed to himſelf and "his flock. II. How ill the paſtors of late regarded each. "III. What way was to be uſed, that they might take "heed to themſelves and their flocks. Under the firſt head "he ſhewed how St. Paul took heed to himſelf by keeping "under his body, and bringing it into ſubjection: by tak- "ing heed of three peſts of an eccleſiaſtical life, *flattery*, *ava-* "*rice*, and *vainglory*: and that he might in all things pro- "pound himſelf a pattern to believers. And, ſecondly, as "he thus took heed to himſelf, ſo he took heed to the "flock in three particulars: in the doctrine which he "preached; in his diligence to preſerve his flock from "wolves; and in his impoſition of hands, whereby he pro- "vided fit miniſters for the church." And then, when he came unto the ſecond head in the diviſion of his diſcourſe, he took occaſion at large to vent his malice againſt the reformed miniſters in King Edward's days; ſhewing how they failed in all the particulars before ſaid: "That they were "belly-gods; gave themſelves over to junketings and pam-
322 "pering of their carcaſes: that they were unchaſte, taking to "themſelves wives, ſome that had lived three ſcore years "ſingle. That they were flatterers, inſinuating themſelves "into the favour of the courtiers: covetous alſo, keeping no "hoſpitality; vainglorious, vaunting themſelves to under- "ſtand the holy Scripture as well as any of the ancients, "daring to compare themſelves with Hierom, Auguſtin, "Ambroſe, &c. And ſome of them from a ſhop, endued "with no liberal diſcipline, not ſo much as grammar, would "mount the pulpit, and there give out themſelves for "learned men, if they did but rail againſt whatſoever was "holy, and boaſt that they had the Spirit. No vice of the "laity, but they were guilty of it. And then, as to their

"neglect of the flock, their doctrine was such, as they "might well repent and be ashamed of. How did they tear "the Lord's flock, and how many souls send to hell, and "what pernicious doctrines bring into the kingdom! That "they brought into the ministry, and to preach God's word, "coblers, dyers, weavers, fullers, barbers, apothecaries, beg-"gars, jesters, fitter for the plough-tail than the ministry of "the word." And with a great deal more of such railing stuff were the minds of the clergy to be prepared vigorously to overthrow all the Reformation, and to bring back Popery again.

The Archbishop and three more crowded together in the Tower.

The Tower, as well as the Fleet and Marshalsea, was crowded with prisoners: all that were supposed to favour religion, or that made any whisper against the popish religion, or that had any the least hand in Queen Jane's business, being taken up and committed. The Tower being so full, our Archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all thrust together into one chamber: which however inconvenient it were, yet they were very glad to be together; that they might have the opportunity of conferring with one another, and establishing one another. There they read over the New Testament together with great deliberation and study; on purpose to see if there were any thing that might favour that popish doctrine of a corporal presence. But, after all, they could find no presence but a spiritual: nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But they found in that holy book that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good; and that God did require none other, nor that it should be ever done again: as Latimer, one of the four, related in his protestation given to Weston.

BOOK III.

Anno 1553.

CHAP. VII.

The Queen ſends to Cardinal Pole.

The Queen ſends to Pole.

THE Queen, out of that great opinion ſhe had of Cardinal Pole, either to make him her huſband, or her Archbiſhop in Crannier's room, ſent letters to him, one dated from London, October 28, written in Latin, conveyed to him from the Emperor's court: probably brought thither by Commendone, who had been ſent by the Pope's legate in that court a private agent unto her: and another, dated January 32-1 28. The Cardinal was coming now from the Pope, as his legate, and in his journey ſtaid, for ſome reaſon of ſtate, in the Emperor's dominions. In this ſtay he thought fit, in anſwer to both her letters, to ſend his mind at large by his meſſenger Thomas Goldwel; who was once, if I miſtake not, Prior of the church of Canterbury; but long ſince fled out of England, and lived with Pole; and by the Queen afterwards preferred to the biſhoprick of St. Aſaph.

The contents of her letters.

Concerning the ſupremacy.

The contents of the Queen's former letter conſiſted in two points: the one concerning the difficulty ſhe feared in renouncing the title of the ſupremacy. For ſhe writ him, that, when the parliament yielded to the aboliſhing of the laws, wherein her mother's matrimony was made illegitimate, the lower Houſe willingly agreed to the eſtabliſhment of her right of ſucceeding to the crown, but made a great boggle of aboliſhing the title of the ſupremacy: thinking that might be a way to the introducing the Pope's authority again, which they could not gladly hear of: and therefore neither did they like to hear of a legate from the Pope. Hence the Queen, who knew Pole was now commiſſioned by the Pope for his legate in this kingdom, and ready to come, did entreat him to ſtop for a while. And ſhe deſired his advice, in caſe the parliament would not be brought to let go the law, wherein the ſupremacy was placed in the crown imperial of this land. The other point, wherein the Queen deſired information of the Cardinal, was, how the commiſſion ſhe had privately given to Commendone was

CHAP. VII.

published in the consistory of Rome, as her ambassador, resident at Venice, had certified her.

Anno 1553. Concerning the new bishops.

The sum of her other letter to the Cardinal was, concerning certain persons that she had in her intentions to make bishops in the void sees: they were Morgan, White, Parsew, Coates, Brooks, Holiman, and Bayn: how they might be put into those sees without derogation to the authority of the see apostolick. For she intended not to extend the power of the crown further than it was in use before the schism. She sent him also the two acts that had passed in the parliament, the one of the legitimation of the matrimony of Queen Katharine with King Henry, and the other of the sacraments to be used in that manner as they were used the last year of King Henry VIII. which she sent to him, because she knew they would be matter of comfort and satisfaction to him.

Pole's advice to the Queen.

As to both these letters of the Queen, he gave instructions to Goldwel to signify to her Majesty what his thoughts were. As to the first, his advice was, "that the authority "and acceptableness of the person goes a great way to "make any proposition well entertained and received by "the people. And that, seeing there were none, neither of "the temporalty nor spiritualty, but that had either spoke "or writ against the Pope's supremacy; therefore he thought "that her Majesty herself would be the fittest person to pro- "pound it with her own mouth. Which was the course "the Emperor took to justify his war with the French King. "He did it by his own mouth before the Pope and Cardi- "nals. He would have her at the same time to let the par- "liament know plainly, that he, (Cardinal Pole,) being the "Pope's legate, was to be admitted and sent for. And 325 "therefore that, in order to this, the law of his banishment "might be repealed, and he restored in blood." As to the second point, which seemed to offend the Queen, that Commendone had revealed that in the consistory which she told him in much secrecy, Pole said, "that he kept her counsel, "and told nothing that he heard from her mouth, but only "what he had heard of certain devout catholicks that knew "the Queen's mind. Which was in general concerning the "devout mind her Majesty bare to God and the church:

Instructions to Goldwel. Titus B. 2.

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

"but that nothing was ſpoken of that particular matter, that "ſhe would have none but the Pope made acquainted with." Which private matter, it ſeems, was, that ſhe deſired the Pope to make Pole his legate to England.

Diſguſts his ſtop.

But that he ſhould be thus ſtopped in his journey, when the Pope had ſent him upon ſuch a weighty errand, the Cardinal ſignified in the ſame letter his diſguſt of. And, "he feared it might be ſo ill taken by the Pope and Cardinals, that they might ſend for him back again to Rome, "and not permit him to go on that intended charitable deſign. And that it was contrary to her firſt commiſſion; "when ſhe ſhewed more fervency to receive the obedience "of the church: (as he took the confidence to tell her.) "And that therefore he was in ſome ſuſpicion, that the next "commiſſion he ſhould receive from the Pope ſhould be to "return back into Italy again: becauſe the Pope might "think that he had done his part touching his demonſtration of his care of the Queen and her realms, when he "offered both ſo readily all graces that tended to make a "reconciliation of both to the church. In which perhaps "(ſaid he) the cardinals would think his Holineſs had been "too liberal. And, that they might take his ſtop, without "their conſent, for a great indignity. And this revocation he "ſtill more feared, if his ſtay ſhould be deferred any longer "ſpace."

Sends to Rome about this his ſtop;

The Cardinal, upon this his ſtay, ſent a ſervant of his by poſt to Rome to make a fair excuſe for this ſtop; namely, that the Queen ſhortly truſted that the matters of the parliament ſhould have that ſatisfaction that the Cardinal deſired: which was the effect of a letter the Queen writ to one Henry Pyning, his ſervant. He alſo let the Pope know, by the aforeſaid meſſenger, that it was the Emperor's advice that the Queen ſhould proceed in matters of religion warily and ſlowly, and not to be too haſty, until temporal matters were better ſettled.

And to the Emperor.

He alſo wrote letters to the Emperor, which he ſent by his ſervant Pyning, to perſuade him to remove this ſtop: and bad his ſaid ſervant to repair to the Emperor's confeſſor, that he ſhould perſonally reſort unto him, and by all means poſſible move the Emperor to let the Cardinal go forward.

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1553.

His judgment of two late acts of parliament.

As to the two acts of parliament which the Queen ſent him, he wrote her, "that they were partly to his ſatis- "faction, and partly not. For the act of ratification of the "matrimony was defective, in that the parliament, mention- "ing the wiſdom of the parents in making the match, did "make no mention of their wiſdom; in that, beſides their "own conſent, they procured the Pope's diſpenſation, and "the authority of the ſee apoſtolick; whereby the impedi- "ments of conjunction, by the laws of the church, were 326 "taken away: which (he added) ought by all means to "have been mentioned. As to the other act for confirma- "tion of the ſacraments, the defect of that (he ſaid) lay, "in that this act made thoſe capable of partaking of the "ſacraments that were not yet entered into the unity of "the church, and remained ſtill in ſchiſm." But, to receive more full ſatisfaction in theſe matters, I refer the reader to the inſtructions given by the Cardinal to Goldwel, as they may be read in the Appendix. No. LXXV.

CHAP. VIII.

The Dealings with the married Clergy.

The married clergy deprived and divorced.

THE marriage of the clergy gave great offence to thoſe that were now uppermoſt. For many of both perſuaſions, Papiſts as well as Proteſtants, had taken wives; it being allowed by a law in King Edward's days; but would now no longer be endured, and was pretended to be againſt an oath they had taken, when they received holy orders. For the Queen ſent a letter and inſtructions, dated March 4, to all the biſhops; ſome of the contents whereof were, "to "deprive all the married clergy, and to amove them from "their benefices and promotions eccleſiaſtical; and beſides "this, not to ſuffer them to abide with their wives, or "women, (as the Papiſts now choſe rather to ſtyle them,) "but to divorce and puniſh them. But that ſuch prieſts "ſhould be ſomewhat more favourably dealt withal, that, "with the conſent of their wives, did openly promiſe to

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

"abſtain. Theſe nevertheleſs were to be enjoined penance "by the biſhop, and then it lay in him to admit them again "to their former miniſtration; but not in the ſame place "they were in before. Of which they were to be deprived; "and a part of that benefice they were outed of was to be "allowed them, according to the biſhop's diſcretion." According to theſe inſtructions of the Queen, a ſad havock was made among the clergy; ſome thouſands being computed to be put out of their livings upon this account. And a good expedient it proved to get rid of the ſoberer clergy, that were not for the preſent turn.

That the reader may take ſome proſpect of theſe tranſactions with the married clergy, I will here ſet down what was done with ſome of them under the juriſdiction of Canterbury by the Dean and Chapter, our Archbiſhop being now laid aſide.

Married prieſts in London cited to appear.

Of thoſe prieſts, beneficed in London, that pertained to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's juriſdiction there, nine were cited, by a citation, March 7, (that is, but three days after the Queen's letter,) from the Dean and Chapter, *Sede Cant. tunc vacante*, (as it is ſaid in the ſaid citation,) to appear in Bow-church, London, before Henry Harvey, LL. D. Vicar-general, for being married men. Theſe perſons thus cited were theſe: John Joſeph, Rector of the church of St. Mary le Bow; Stephen Green, Rector of St. Dionys back-church; Laurence Saunders, Rector of the church of Alhallowes in
327 Bred-ſtreet; Peter Alexander, Rector of Alhallowes, Lumbard-ſtreet; Chriſtopher Athburn, Rector of St. Michael's, Crooked-lane; Thomas Mountain, Rector of St. Michael's in Rio-lane, John Turnor, Rector of St. Leonard's in Eaſt-cheap; Richard Marſh, Rector of St. Pancrace; John Eliot, ſchoolmaſter in the pariſh of St. Leonard, Eaſt-cheap. It may not be amiſs to ſet down the tenour, wherein the citation ran, *viz.*

Ex Regiſt. Eccl. Cant.

"That ſince it was (alas!) notorioufly manifeſt, *Quod* "*rectores et preſbyteri, quorum nomina in pede hujus edicti* "*ſpecificantur, contra jura eccleſiæ, ſanctorum patrum decreta,* "*et laudabiles eccleſiæ catholicæ generatim obſervatas et ufita-* "*tas conſuetudines, ſeſe prætextu fœderis conjugalis cum non-* "*nullis fœminis illicite conjunxerint, ſub falſi matrimonii ap-* "*pellatione, cum iiſdem publice cohabitaverint, et impudice vix-*

" *erint, in voti ſui alias emiſſi violationem, animarum ſuarum* " *detrimentum, ac aliorum Chriſti fidelium exemplum longe* " *perniciosum, in Chriſti eccleſia non ferendum; unde pro* " *officii noſtri debito, et tantorum ſcelerum ab eccleſia Chriſti* " *eliminatione penitus eradicandum, &c. juxta illuſtriſſimæ* " *Dominæ noſtræ Reginæ monitionis in hac parte continentiam* " *procedere volentes, &c.*" The citation was returned by the apparitor: who declared, that he found and perſonally cited Richard Marſh and John Turnor, and that he affixed the citation of the reſt on the church-doors belonging to the reſpective rectors, on March 8. And no wonder the apparitor met with no more of them, ſome being fled, and ſome in priſon, and ſome already violently turned out of their churches and gone. On March 16, according to the citation, Marſh and Turnor made their perſonal appearance, and were ſworn to make true anſwer to ſuch interrogatories as ſhould be put to them. What thoſe interrogatories were, I ſhall ſet down by and by. Theſe perſons confeſſed, that they made profeſſion of religious vows; and, after holy orders, were married, and lived with their wives. Hereupon ſentence was denounced againſt them, to prohibit them to officiate, and to ſuſpend them from the profits of their benefices; and, on Monday following, to appear again to receive further ſentence of deprivation, divorce, &c. John Eliot, ſchoolmaſter, it ſeems, ſubmitted to penance: for he was not preſently thruſt out of his ſchool, but enjoined not to teach his ſcholars matins, pſalter, or the like, in Engliſh, but in Latin; ſo as they might be able to anſwer the prieſt that officiated. The reſt, that appeared not, were declared contumacious; and to be proceeded againſt, on Monday following, by deprivation, &c.

Interrogatories for the married clergy.

The interrogatories miniſtered unto theſe men, and to be miniſtered to all other married prieſts, were theſe:

I. *An fuit religioſus: cujus ordinis; et in quo monaſterio ſive domo.*

II. *An fuit promotus ad ſacros ordines, dum fuit in monaſterio.*

III. *In quo et quibus ſacris: et an miniſtravit in altaris miniſterio; et quot annis.*

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

IV. *An citra profeſſionem regularem conjunxit ſe mulieri ſub appellatione matrimonii.*

V. *Cum qua: et in qua eccleſia fuit ſolemnizatio matrimonii; et per quem.*

328 VI. *Quam duxit, eratne ſoluta, an vidua.*

VII. *An cohabitavit cum ea in una et eadem domo, ut vir cum uxore.*

VIII. *An prolem vel proles ex ea ſuſcitaverit, necne.*

IX. *An poſt et citra matrimonii hujuſmodi ſolemnizationem, aſſecutus fuit, et eſt, beneficium eccleſiaſticum, habens curam animarum, et quot annis illud obtinuit.*

X. *An officium ſacerdotis poſt et citra aſſertum matrimonium hujuſmodi contractum, in altaris miniſterio ſe immiſcuit, et ſacramentis et ſacramentalibus miniſtrandis ſe ingeſſit.*

XI. *An præmiſſa omnia et ſingula fuerunt et ſunt vera.*

According to theſe articles, the confeſſions of Marſh, Turnor, and Eliot, are regiſtered at large. On Monday, March 19, ſentence was pronounced againſt Marſh and Turnor. 1. Of deprivation from their benefices. 2. Of ſuſpenſion from their prieſtly function. 3. Of inhibition to cohabit with their wives. 4. Of nulling and voiding the pretended bond of matrimony; and, 5. of declaration of further puniſhments, according to the canons of the church. And, March 20, the like ſentence was pronounced againſt the reſt that did not appear. Next, the ſentence of divorce againſt John Turnor and his wife was pronounced: and he was ordered to do penance on May 14, 1554, in his late pariſh-church of Eaſt-cheap, by holding a burning wax taper, and making a ſolemn confeſſion openly and diſtinctly, with a loud voice, ſtanding in the body of the church, before the face of the people, in theſe words following:

Turnor's confeſſion. Ex Regiſt. Ecci. Cant.

"Good people, I am come hither, at this preſent time, to "declare unto you my ſorrowful and penitent heart, for "that, being a prieſt, I have preſumed to marry one Amy "German, widow; and, under pretence of that matrimony, "contrary to the canons and cuſtom of the univerſal church, "have kept her as my wife, and lived contrary to the canons "and ordinances of the church, and to the evil example of

" good chriſten people: whereby now, being aſhamed of CHAP. VIII.
" my former wicked living here, I aſk almighty God mercy Anno 1555.
" and forgiveneſs, and the whole church; and am ſorry
" and penitent even from the bottom of my heart therefore.
" And in token hereof, I am here, as you ſee, to declare
" and ſhew unto you this my repentance; that before God,
" on the latter day, you may teſtify with me of the ſame.
" And I moſt heartily and humbly pray and deſire you all,
" whom by this evil example doing I have greatly offended,
" that for your part you will forgive me, and remember me
" in your prayers, that God may give me grace, that here-
" after I may live a continent life, according to his laws,
" and the godly ordinances of our mother the holy catholick
" church, through and by his grace. And do here before
" you all openly promiſe for to do, during my life." The manner of the reſtitution of theſe prieſts, thus performing their penance, may be ſeen in the Appendix. No. LXXV.

Boner deprives the married clergy in London, without order.

And this is ſome account of the church of Canterbury's doings, in purſuance of the Queen's inſtructions before mentioned. But Biſhop Boner, with his zeal, was beforehand with the Queen; not ſtaying for any orders from above in dealing with his clergy; but of his own power, in the latter end of February, deprived all married prieſts, in his dioceſe in London, from their livings. And, after this done, commanded them all to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be divorced from them. 329

Married prebendaries in Canterbury proceeded againſt.

Theſe were ſome of the doings with the married prieſts in London. And in the ſame manner did they proceed about this time in Canterbury with Edmund Cranmer, the Archbiſhop's brother, Archdeacon and Prebendary of that church; together with William Willoughby, William Devenith, and Robert Goldſon, Prebendaries; and divers others. For March 15, at the chapter-houſe in Canterbury, before Henry Harvey, LL. D. Vicar-general; Richard Biſhop of Dover, Subdean; Richard Parkhurſt and John Mills, Prebendaries of the ſaid church; perſonally appeared the ſaid Archdeacon and Prebendaries; Thomas Brook and Thomas Stevens, preachers; and Sherland and Goodrick, petty canons of the ſaid church: who all ſubſcribed with their own hands to a confeſſion of certain articles exhibited againſt

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

them, touching their being married. And, being aſked what they could ſay why they ſhould not be ſuſpended and deprived for the ſaid pretended marriages, they gave this anſwer, as it is ſet down in the regiſter of that church; *Se nihil habere dicendum, &c.* "That they had nothing to ſay "that might be profitable for them; the eccleſiaſtical law, "and the decrees of the holy fathers, ſtanding in their full "force: but, by the law of God, they thought they had "lawfully married their wives; and, being married, might "not forſake them with a ſafe conſcience." Then ſentence of ſuſpenſion from prieſtly function, ſequeſtration, deprivation, and prohibition to live with their wives, was pronounced. It is regiſtered, "that they acquieſced in theſe "ſentences againſt them; no one of them appealing, but all "remaining ſilent." This is the account of the good Archbiſhop's brother, his manner of deprivation, and his peaceable behaviour under it.

Edmund Cranmer deprived of all.

Reg. Eccl. Cant.

Thus he was deprived of his prebend, and one Robert Collins was admitted into the ſame: of his rectory of Ickham, and Robert Marſh ſucceeded him there, April 12, 1554: and of his archdeaconry, and Nicolas Harpsfield was admitted thereunto. Who at the ſame time entered into obligation to pay, out of the profits of the ſaid archdeaconry, unto William Warham, late Archdeacon, during his life, a yearly penſion of forty pounds ſterling, March 31, 1554. But ſome of the church then appeared not, being either ſled, or in priſon; and thoſe were pronounced contumacious, *viz.* John Joſeph, Peter Alexander, and Bernard Ochin, prebendaries; Lancelot Ridley, Richard Turner, Thomas Becon, and Richard Beſely, preachers.

The injuſtice of theſe proceedings.

Theſe doings in all quarters of the realm raiſed great admiration among the people, upon divers and ſundry conſiderations, incident and depending upon ſuch proceedings: ſince theſe marriages were no more than what were agreeable to the laws of the land. So that theſe married preachers, in marrying themſelves, were no tranſgreſſors of the law: and yet underwent as great puniſhments, as though they were ſo in ſome high degree. And the proceedings ſeemed contrary even to the Queen's commiſſion, compriſed in cer-

330 tain articles (before mentioned) to her biſhops: which was,

"That they ſhould proceed, according to learning and diſ-
"cretion, in theſe weighty matters, and that they ſhould not
"put any other canons and conſtitutions of the church in
"exerciſe, than ſuch as might ſtand with the law of the
"realm." Yet they went in moſt places both againſt learning and diſcretion, and the laws of the land.

Martin's book againſt Prieſts' Marriage.

For the bringing this to paſs, they firſt poſſeſſed the Queen with great prejudices againſt theſe marriages. They cried in her ears, how uncomely theſe copulations were; how againſt God and his honour; how againſt the church's decrees and diſcipline; and how worthy to be diſſolved again. And when they had obtained their ends with the Queen, and gotten out her letter and inſtructions for that purpoſe, and by warrant thereof executed their purpoſes; then, for the giving a better countenance to a thing that looked ſo odious, and had ſo much ſeverity in it, to the ruining of ſo many thouſand families, books were thought fit to be publiſhed; the purpoſe of which was, to make married prieſts contemptible, and to ſhew how unlawful and wicked marriage was in men of holy orders. Dr. Thomas Martin's book made the greateſt noiſe; a book writ with a brow of braſs, ſo did it abound with confident untruths and falſehoods. And, to the further accumulation of the heavy ſtate of the miniſters deprived, were added in this book moſt ſlanderous accuſations, and untrue matters furmiſed againſt them to the Queen and realm. The author greatly pretended antiquity and authority all along for his doctrine: whereas indeed it was nothing but counterfeited imitation of authority, and belying antiquity. And, in ſhort, (to give you the ſenſe of one[z] who wrote againſt the book, and did ſufficiently expoſe it,) "it was mere ſubtilty without
"ſubſtance, wit without wiſdom, zeal without knowledge,
"and heat without charity." To give but one inſtance of the unfair and falſe dealing of the author, he ſaith, in his book, "that the hereticks affirmed, that all prieſts and
"biſhops muſt of neceſſity marry, whether they have the
"gift of ſole life, or no; and that they were ſo beaſtly and
"ignorant, that they ſhould teach that the fellowſhip and

[z] Suppoſed to be Biſhop Ponet.

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

"company of a woman, in a ſpiritual man, is a means to "perfect religion, and that ſingle life was an hinderance "to the ſame, and that they ſhould deſpiſe all manner of "virginity and ſingle life in them that had the gift of God; "and that they pronounced it wicked and abominable, and "termed it a doctrine of devils, and the invention of An-"tichriſt." All which Biſhop Ponet, in the name of all the Proteſtants, in his book did utterly deny that ever they ſaid, writ, or thought ſo.

Wherein Winchester had the greateſt hand.

This book was indeed made by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, when he was in the Tower, (and he borrowed much of it from Albertus Pighius,) and publiſhed about that time. Martin being then a ſtudent at the univerſity of Bourges in France, it once happened, in ſome converſation there, that Edward the King of England was commended, whether it were for his virtue, or learning, or abilities, beyond his years; whereat Martin began, as it ſeemed, to eclipſe the King's honour, by mentioning the impriſonment of Winchester, ſaying, that there was a head Papiſt priſoner in England, meaning him. Upon which ſeveral aſked him,
331 whether it was not the ſame Wincheſter that had ſet out an hodge-podge concerning marriage of prieſts? He, laughing, anſwered, "It was even he." But that no man ought to marvel; for that Wincheſter was more meet for warlike than for eccleſiaſtical diſputations. Which paſſage I have from Bale; who was acquainted at that univerſity with Franciſcus Baldwin, the learned profeſſor of law there. Out of this book Martin framed that which went under his name, with Wincheſter's privity: and this was well enough known to Bale and others in thoſe times. Ponet ſaid, that Martin was abuſed by others, who ſet him a-work to bear the name, and to deſire the fame of ſo gay a book, rather than he was the author of it indeed.

Declaration of Boner's articles, 1554.

Thomas Martin, or Wincheſter under that name. fol. 15. Mr. Martin, Wincheſter's own voice. fol. 40. Gardiner in his book lately ſpread under the name of Thomas Martin. fol. 77. Bale's declar.

The ſaid Ponet, or Poinet, late Biſhop of Wincheſter, but now an exile, very learnedly anſwered this book in two ſeveral treatiſes. The firſt was entitled, *An Apology againſt Thomas Martin's Blaſphemies*. In this treatiſe, upon occaſion of the Papiſts' prohibition of marriage to prieſts, he proved that the ſaid Papiſts were hereticks, and had taken part with all the hereticks that

Anſwered by Ponet.

had corrupted the true Church of Chriſt. The ſecond treatiſe, repleniſhed with great learning, he lived not to finiſh; (though ſome doubt whether he were the author of this book;) but the copy falling into the hands of Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he publiſhed it, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with very large and excellent additions of his own. Ponet had thoroughly ſtudied this point, and I believe was put upon the ſtudy of it by Archbiſhop Cranmer, whoſe chaplain he was: for before this he put forth two books upon this argument, *viz. Of the Marriage of Miniſters*; and *a Defence of that Marriage.* CHAP. VIII. Anno 1558.

The laſt thing I have to ſay concerning theſe orders taken with the married clergy, is, that there were two things thought very hard, which were put upon thoſe that were willing to comply, and put away their wives. The one was in relation to the public confeſſions they were to make: which were put into their mouths by others, and drawn up for them in that manner, as made them tell horrible lies. They muſt ſpeak their own ſhame in bills of their penance: lying againſt themſelves moſt vilely and moſt ſhamefully; diſabling their credit and eſtimation for ever. And to give an inſtance: one ſuch confeſſion, which was much cried out againſt, was made by one Sir John Buſby of Windſor, June 29, in the year 1555. Which Ponet calleth a goodly confeſſion of his hearty and earneſt repentance. "Which," ſaith he, "was ſo finely penned, and ſo catholickly tracted, "that I warrant you it was none of the ſmalleſt fools that "forged it." The confeſſions of the married prieſts. Def. of Pr. Marr. p. 269.

The other thing was, that, after theſe poor men had thus done their penances, and ſpoke their confeſſions, the impoſers of theſe penalties upon them were not ſo good as they pretended they would be, and as the Queen's inſtructions required them to be, towards them: not reſtoring them to their miniſtration. Some, that had been two or three years parted from their wives, could not be admitted again to miniſtration: yet they muſt do open penance, and go by the croſs, without any redemption or entreaty, that could be made. Married prieſts that did their penance hardly dealt with.

BOOK III.

Anno 1554.

332

CHAP. IX.

Evils in this Change. A Parliament.

A twofold evil upon this turn of religion.

BY this time the face of the church was perfectly changed: and all the reformation that was made for twenty years before, namely, from Cranmer's firſt aſcent to the archiepiſcopal chair, to this time, was unravelled in leſs than a year, and aboliſhed. But the favourers of the Goſpel lamented it exceedingly: and Biſhop Ridley writ a treatiſe, wherein he ſhewed what a deplorable change in religion this was, by ſetting down at large what religion was in King Edward's days, and what it was at that preſent; laying the cauſe of this ſore judgment upon the vile and naughty lives of the people, ſo unſuitable to the good religion profeſſed. The profeſſors lamented two great evils, lighting upon the people upon this turn of religion; not only that it brought the people into error and ſuperſtition, but involved them univerſally in the crime of perjury: the blame of which they laid upon the popiſh clergy. For they not only had connived at, but allowed and encouraged, the caſting off the Pope's ſupremacy, and made both prieſts and laity ſwear to the King. And now they ſet up the Pope's authority again in England, and required all to ſwear to that. For they compelled not only ſuch as were prieſts to perjure themſelves, but all the laity, nobility, gentry, magiſtrates, merchants, and others; for hardly any were exempted the oath of ſupremacy in the former reigns. For in every law-day, the keepers of the ſame were ſworn to call all the young men of their hundred, even as they came to years of diſcretion, to ſwear never to receive the Biſhop of Rome, nor no other foreign potentate, to be head of the people of England, but only the King and his ſucceſſors. Which oath, if it were unlawful, as the clergymen now ſaid, then all the realm had reaſon of high diſpleaſure againſt them, that ſo led them and knew it.

The diſſimulation of the prieſts.

Such groſs diſſembling were the biſhops guilty of to the involving the people in guilt. And this diſſembling quality the prieſts ſtill retained in this Queen's days. For when

any came to some of them, shewing them that his conscience was not satisfied in the present way of religion, the priest would tell him, "that he said the truth; my conscience," would he say, "is as yours; but we must bear "for a time: and that he himself looked for another "change." When another of a contrary opinion came to the priests, and talked about religion, they would say to him, "that they had been deceived; and thanks be to "God," said they, "that ye kept your conscience all this "while. And even so was mine; but I durst not do any "otherwise, but trusted that this time would come, as is "now; thanks be to God." Nay, and sometimes, in the same town, they would minister the service two ways to the people, to please both: insomuch that the bishops and priests grew, for this cause, as well as for their cruelty, into great dislike with the people. This more at large is shewed in a short manuscript treatise I have, made by a certain person nameless, imprisoned for religion, entitled thus; *All sorts of people of England have just cause of displeasure against the Bishops and Priests of the same.* 333

There was this year, April 2, a new parliament; that the last year being dissolved. Great was the sadness that now possessed the hearts of the English nation, even of Papists themselves, the most considerate and wisest part of them, seeing the great slavery the kingdom was like to be ensnared in, by what the parliament was now in doing; that is to say, restoring the Pope's tyranny here in England, that had been so long and happily cast out, and allowing the Queen's matching with Prince Philip; whereby a Spaniard should become King of England. Which when P. Martyr had signified in a letter from Strasburgh to Calvin, May 8, he told him, *Tanta est rerum perturbatio, ut nullo pacto explicari queat:* "that it could not be told what a "disturbance there now was;" and that all good men, that could, fled away from their own country, from all parts of the land: mentioning three noble knights to be come lately to Strasburg, not less famous for piety than learning, Morisin, Cheke, and Cook. At this parliament, wherein the mass was set up, and confirmed by an act, all that were suspected to favour the truth were turned out of the House: A parliament before the Pope.

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

which made Hoper out of prifon in one of his letters write; "Doubtleſs there had not been ſeen before our time "ſuch a parliament as this, that as many as were ſuſpected "to be favourers of God's word, ſhould be baniſhed out of "both Houſes."

A deſign to revive the ſix Articles.

In this parliament a ſtrong and certain report went, that the bloody act of the ſix Articles ſhould be revived and put in execution. This created abundance of terror in men's hearts. There was nothing but ſighs and lamentations every where: and a great many were already fled out of the realm; unto whom this rumour had reached. John Fox, a learned and pious man, who had an excellent pathetic ſtyle, was now ſet on work: who took his pen in his hand, and, in the name of the proteſtant exiles, wrote a moſt earneſt expoſtulatory letter to the Parliament, to diſſuade them from reſtoring this law again. He told them, "they had a "Queen, who, as ſhe was moſt noble, ſo ſhe was ready to "liſten to ſound and wholeſome counſel. And that they "had a Lord Chancellor, that, as he was learned, ſo of his "own nature he was not bad, were it not for the counſels "of ſome. But that, as among animals, ſome there were "that were born to create trouble and deſtruction to the "other: ſo there were among mankind ſome by nature "cruel and deſtructive; ſome to the church, and ſome to "the ſtate." The letter is worthy the reading: which I have therefore placed in the Appendix, as I tranſcribed it out of a manuſcript collection of Fox's letters. There was indeed ſuch a deſign in the Houſe of Commons of bringing again into force that act of the ſix Articles; but whether it were by the importunity of this and other petitions, or that the court thought it not convenient ſo much to countenance any of King Henry's acts, this buſineſs fell. And this parliament was ſhortlived, for in May it was diſſolved; by reaſon of a bill for confirming abbey-lands to the preſent poſſeſſors, which it ſeems gave offence to the court.

Num. LXXVI.

CHAP. X.

334

Archbiſhop Cranmer diſputes at Oxon.

A CONVOCATION of the clergy now met in St. Paul's, but was adjourned, the prolocutor Dr. Weſton, Dean of Weſtminſter, and ſome other of the members, being ſent to Oxon (and it was generally thought the parliament would remove thither too) to diſpute certain points of religion in controverſy with three of the heads of the proteſtant party, Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Ridley, and old father Latimer, now all priſoners: who, for that purpoſe, in the month of April, were removed from the Tower, by the Queen's warrant to the Lieutenant, towards Windſor, and there taken into cuſtody of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Williams, who conveyed them to Oxford, there to remain in order to a diſputation. The convocation, while they ſat at London, agreed upon the queſtions to be diſputed; and they reſolved, that theſe three pious men ſhould be baited by both the univerſities; and therefore that they of Cambridge ſhould be excited to repair to Oxford, and engage in this diſputation alſo. The queſtions were theſe:

Anno 1554.

A convocation appoint a diſpute with Cranmer at Oxford.

I. *In ſacramento altaris virtute verbi divini a ſacerdote prolati, præſens eſt realiter, ſub ſpeciebus panis et vini, naturale corpus Chriſti, conceptum de Virgine Maria: item naturalis ejus ſanguis.*

The queſtions.

II. *Poſt conſecrationem non remanet ſubſtantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla ſubſtantia, niſi ſubſtantia Chriſti, Dei et hominis.*

III. *In Miſſa eſt vivificum eccleſiæ ſacrificium pro peccatis, tam vivorum, quam mortuorum, propitiabile.*

Theſe queſtions the convocation ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, requiring them ſeriouſly to weigh and deliberate upon them, and, if they contained true doctrine, then to approve of them. Accordingly the ſenate of that Univerſity met, and, after due deliberation, found them agreeable in all things to the catholick church, and the Scripture, and the ancient doctrine taught by the Fathers: and ſo did confirm

Sent to Cambridge.

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

and ratify them in their said senate. And because Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the heads of the hereticks that held contrary to these articles, were formerly members of their University, and being to be disputed withal at Oxford concerning these points, they decreed, in the name of all the University, to send seven of their learned doctors to Oxford, to take their parts in disputing with them, and to use all ways possible to reclaim them to the orthodox doctrine again. And accordingly the said senate, April 10, made a public instrument to authorize them, in their names, to go to Oxford and dispute: which instrument may be seen in the Appendix. They also wrote a letter, the same date, to the University of Oxford, to signify that they had appointed those persons to repair unto them, not so much to dispute points so professedly orthodox, and agreeable to the Fathers and general Councils, and the Word of God, as to defend those truths in their names, and reduce those patrons of false and corrupt doctrine, if possible, unto a sound mind. This letter is also in the Appendix. So that this coming of the Cambridge divines to Oxford was to seem a voluntary thing, to shew their zeal for popery, and vindication of their University against liking or approbation of Cranmer and his two fellow-prisoners. So roundly was the University already come about to the old forsaken religion.

Num. LXXVII.

Num. LXXVIII.

335

The disputants of Oxford and Cambridge.

This Oxford disputation was after this manner: Hugh Weston, S. T. P. Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation; Owin Oglethorp, John Seton, W. Chedsey, S. Th. PP.; Hen. Cole, Will. Geffrey, LL. PP.; William Pye, Joh. Feckenham, Joh. Harpsfield, S. T. BB. representing the whole lower House of Convocation, went down to Oxford. To them were joined, by commission, the Chancellor of the University, the Vicechancellor, the professors and doctors, &c. as namely, Holyman, Tresham, Ri. Marshal, Morwent, Smith, S. T. PP. of Oxford: and John Young, William Glyn, Ri. Atkinson, Tho. Watson, Cutbert Scot, Alban Langdale, Tho. Sedgwick, S. Th. PP. of Cambridge; in the name of the whole University. All these being met at St. Mary's, there were read the letters commissional to them, sealed with the Bishop of London's seal, and the subscription besides of the Bishops of Winton, Durham, Wi-

CHAP. X. Anno 1554.

gorn, Chicheſter, Lincoln, Bath, Roſs, Hereford, St. David's, Gloceſter, and Oxon. And with theſe letters were conveyed certain articles, which had been lately by the upper Houſe reſolved upon; which articles were, of the Sacrament of the Altar, of Tranſubſtantiation, and of the Adoration of the Euchariſt, and the Reſervation of the Sacrament of the Church, and of its inſtitution, and by whom, and for whom, and to whom, it is to be offered. The contents of the letter were, to ſummon before them Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and to propound thoſe articles to them to diſpute on publickly. The ſum of which, it ſeems, were contracted into the three queſtions above ſaid. Then they provided themſelves three public notaries. Next, they celebrated and ſung the maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. Then they went a proceſſion according to the cuſtom of the Univerſity. This formal pageantry being finiſhed, and the commiſſioners returned to St. Mary's, and being come into the choir, to the number of three and thirty, ſeated themſelves before the altar. And then ſent to the Mayor and Bailiffs to bring Dr. Cranmer before them, by virtue of the Queen's letters to them: who within a while was brought, guarded with bill-men.

Cranmer brought before them.

Coming before them, he gave them great reverence, and ſtood with his ſtaff in his hand. They offered him a ſtool to ſit, but he refuſed. Then Weſton the prolocutor began a ſpeech, wherein "he commended unity in the church of "Chriſt: and withal, turning to the Archbiſhop, told him, "how he had been a catholick man once, and in the ſame "unity; but that he had ſeparated himſelf from it by "teaching and ſetting forth erroneous doctrine, making "every year a new faith. And therefore that it had pleaſed "the Queen to ſend them to him to recover him again, if it "might be, to that unity." And then ſhewed him the articles to be diſputed on, cauſing them to be read to him, and requiring his anſwer and opinion thereupon. Then the Archbiſhop anſwered *extempore*, that, as for unity, he was very glad of it; and ſaid, that it was a preſerver of all commonwealths, as well heathen as chriſtian: and illuſtrated the matter by ſome ſtories out of the Roman hiſtory. And added, 336
that he ſhould be very glad to come to an unity, ſo it were in

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

Chriſt, and according to the church of God. Then he read over the articles three or four times: and, being aſked whether he would ſubſcribe to them, he anſwered, That in the form of words in which they were conceived, they were all falſe and againſt God's word; and therefore that he would not agree in that unity with them. Nevertheleſs, he ſaid, if they would give him a copy of the articles, and time to conſider of them, he would by to-morrow ſend them an anſwer. Which was granted him, the Prolocutor bidding him write his mind of them that night. It was moreover agreed between them, that, in whatſoever he diſſented from them, they would proceed to public diſputation thereupon, in the public ſchools, by ſcholaſtical arguments in Latin. And laſtly, they told him, he ſhould have what books he would aſk for. And ſo Weſton gave the Mayor charge of him, to be had to Bocardo, where he was before.

His behaviour.

His behaviour all this while was ſo grave and modeſt, that many maſters of art, who were not of his mind, could not forbear weeping. This was the work of Saturday. On Sunday Cranmer ſent in what he had writ upon the articles to the Prolocutor to Lincoln College, where he lay.

Ridley brought,

After Cranmer was carried back, the Mayor and Bailiffs brought Biſhop Ridley. And when the ſame articles were read to him, he ſaid, that they were not true: but deſired a copy of them, and he would draw up in writing his anſwer, and ſoon tranſmit it to them. And did offer to diſpute, as Cranmer had done before.

And Latimer.

Laſtly, Latimer was brought, to whom the Prolocutor ſaid as he had to the two former. Latimer confeſſed, that in the ſacrament of the altar there was a certain preſence, but not ſuch an one as they would have: and he alſo promiſed to ſend them his anſwer ſhortly to theſe articles, requiring a copy. But, by reaſon of his old age, his infirmities, and the weakneſs of his memory, he ſaid, he could not bear a diſpute; but that he could and would declare his mind of the ſaid articles. All this that I have above ſaid concerning the managery of this affair, I do for the moſt part extract out of a letter of Weſton's, writ unto the Biſhop of London, from Oxon. I cannot here omit old

CHAP. X. Anno 1554.

father Latimer's habit at this his appearing before the commiſſioners, which was alſo his habit while he remained a priſoner in Oxford. He held his hat in his hand; he had a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap ſuch as townſmen uſed, with two broad flaps, to button under his chin: an old threadbare Briſtow freez gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at which hanged, by a long ſtring of leather, his Teſtament; and his ſpectacles, without caſe, hanging about his neck upon his breaſt. This was the work of Saturday.

Cranmer brought to his diſputation.

On Monday Cranmer was brought into the reſpondents' place in the Divinity-Schools, the Mayor and Aldermen ſitting by him. In the midſt of the diſputation, becauſe what he was to anſwer was more than he could well remember *extempore*, he gave in to Dr. Weſton his opinion, written at large, in anſwer to each propoſition; and deſired Weſton, who ſat on high, to read it. Theſe writings are preſerved in Fox's Monuments, and may there be ſeen. This diſputation began at eight in the morning, and laſted till two. The Beadle had provided drink, and offered the Archbiſhop thereof ſometimes, but he refuſed; nor did he ſtir all the while out of his place, though the Prolocutor had granted him leave to retire for a while, if he had any occaſion. And, after having learnedly and boldly maintained the truth againſt a great many clamorous opponents, he was carried back by the Mayor to priſon. And then, the two next days, Ridley and Latimer took their courſes. 337

His notaries.

Cranmer had cautiouſly provided two notaries to take notes of what he ſaid, leſt he might be miſrepreſented. And they were Jewel, afterward Biſhop of Sarum, and one Gilbert Mounſon: who alſo, at Ridley's requeſt, were granted him.

Cranmer's demands.

Cranmer required, at the commiſſioners' hands, more time to have theſe weighty matters more diligently ſcanned and examined: urging, that he had ſo much to ſpeak, that it would take up many days, that he might fully anſwer to all that they could ſay. He required alſo, that he and his fellows might oppoſe, as well as reſpond: that they might produce their proofs before the popiſh doctors, and be anſwered fully to all that they could ſay. But neither

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

of theſe demands would be allowed him: which he in a letter complained of to the council. For indeed, as Cranmer plainly apprehended, the deſign now was not to look impartially into the truth or falſehood of theſe doctrines, but to gain glory to themſelves, and to have a ſhew for the reſolution that was before taken up of condemning them all three.

Cranmer diſputes again.

The ſame week, on Thurſday, Harpsfield diſputed for the degree of bachelor of divinity: and, among other opponents, Cranmer was called forth for one by Dr. Weſton. Where, firſt taking notice of Weſton's oppoſing Harpsfield out of the Scripture againſt a corporal preſence, (which was Harpsfield's queſtion,) but whereas he left the ſenſe of the Scripture to the catholick church, as judge, Cranmer told him, "He was much miſtaken, eſpecially becauſe that, "under the name of church, he appointed ſuch judges as "had corruptly judged, and contrary to the ſenſe of the "Scriptures. He wondered alſo (he ſaid) why Weſton "attributed ſo little to the reading of Scriptures, and "conferring of places, ſeeing Scripture doth ſo much com-"mend the ſame, in thoſe very places which himſelf had "alleged. And as to his opinion of theſe queſtions, he "ſaid, they had neither ground of the word of God, nor "the primitive church. Nay, and that the ſchools have "ſpoken diverſely of them, and do not agree among them-"ſelves." And, having prefaced all this, he began his diſputation with Harpsfield, by aſking him ſome queſtions: as, how Chriſt's body was in the ſacrament, according to his mind and determination? And whether he had the quantity and qualities, form, figure, and ſuch-like properties, of bodies? And when there was great declining to anſwer this; and ſome affirmed one thing, and ſome another; Harpsfield ſaid, they were vain queſtions, and not fit to ſpend time about; and added, that "Chriſt was there
338 "as it pleaſed him to be there." Cranmer to that ſaid, "He would be beſt contented with that anſwer, if their "appointing of the carnal preſence had not driven him "neceſſity to [illegible] "placed him there, ſithence they would have a nat[illegible] "body." Then [illegible]

it was *quantitativum*; and ſome affirmed, that it had *modum quanti:* and ſome denying it, Dr. Weſton then ſtood up, and ſaid, it was *corpus quantum, ſed non per modum quanti.* A very grave deciſion of the point!

Then Cranmer aſked, "Whether good and bad men do "eat the body in the ſacrament; and then, how long "Chriſt tarried in the eater?" Harpsfield ſaid, "They were "curious queſtions, unmeet to be aſked." Cranmer replied, "He took them out of their ſchools, and ſchoolmen, "which they themſelves did moſt uſe." Then he aſked, "How far he went into the body, and how long he abode in "the body?" With theſe queſtions Cranmer puzzled them moſt heavily: for which way ſoever they anſwered, there would follow abſurdities and inextricable difficulties. In concluſion, Dr. Weſton gave him this compliment; "That "his wonderful gentle behaviour and modeſty was worthy "much commendation: giving him moſt hearty thanks in "his own name, and in the name of all his brethren." At which all the doctors put off their caps.

The Papiſts' incendent management of the diſputation.

On Wedneſday, as ſoon as Latimer, who came up laſt, had ended his diſputation, the Papiſts cried *Victoria*, applauding themſelves loudly, as though they had vindicated their cauſe moſt ſtrenuouſly and ſatisfactorily againſt Cranmer and his two fellows. And ſo Weſton had the confidence to tell them to their faces. Though to him that reads the whole diſputation, and conſidereth the arguments on both ſides impartially, there will appear no ſuch matter: allowing for all the hiſſings and noiſes, confuſed talk and taunts, that were beſtowed upon theſe very reverend and good men. Whereof Ridley ſaid, in reference to his diſputation, "That he never in all his life ſaw or heard any "thing carried more vainly and tumultuouſly; and that he "could not have thought, that there could have been "found among Engliſhmen any perſons, honoured with "degrees in learning, that willingly could allow of ſuch va- "nities, more fit for the ſtage than the ſchools." He added, "That, when he ſtudied at Paris, he remembered "what clamours were uſed in the Sorbon, where popery "chiefly reigned; but that that was a kind of modeſty in "compariſon of this thraſonical oſtentation. Whence he con-

In his Pr face to h Account his Diſpu

BOOK III.

Anno 1554. The Proteſtants glad of this diſputation.

"cluded very truly, that they ſought not for the ſincere "truth in this conference, and for nothing but vainglory."

But the profeſſors of the Goſpel, on the other hand, were as glad of this diſpute, wherein theſe three chief fathers of the church had ſo boldly and gallantly ſtood in the defence of the truth, and maintained the true doctrine of the ſacrament ſo well. And Dr. Rowland Taylor, in priſon elſewhere at this time for Chriſt's ſake, wrote them a congratulatory letter in the name of the reſt. Which is as followeth.

339

Dr. Taylor to the three fathers after their diſputations.

"RIGHT reverend fathers in the Lord, I wiſh you to en-"joy continually God's grace and peace through Jeſus "Chriſt. And God be praiſed again for this your moſt ex-"cellent promotion, which ye are called unto at this pre-"ſent; that is, that ye are counted worthy to be allowed "amongſt the number of Chriſt's records and witneſſes. "England hath had but a few learned biſhops that would "ſtick to Chriſt *ad ignem inclusive*. Once again I thank "God heartily in Chriſt for your moſt happy onſet, moſt "valiant proceeding, moſt conſtant ſuffering of all ſuch in-"famies, hiſſings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loſs of "living and liberty, for the defence of God's cauſe, truth, "and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoice in my "heart for you three ſuch captains in the foreward, under "Chriſt's croſs, banner, or ſtandard, in ſuch a cauſe and "ſkirmiſh: when not only one or two of our dear Re-"deemer's ſtrong holds are beſieged, but all his chief caſtles, "ordained for our ſafeguard, are traitorouſly impugned. "This your enterprize, in the ſight of all that be in heaven, "and of all God's people in earth, is moſt pleaſant to be-"hold. This is another manner of nobility, than to be in "the forefront in worldly warfares. For God's ſake, pray "for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are "ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord, his name be praiſed; "and we doubt not, but ye be ſo in Chriſt's own ſweet "ſchool. Heaven is all, and wholly of our ſide. Therefore "*Gaudete in Domino ſemper, et iterum gaudete, et exultate:* "Rejoice always in the Lord, and again rejoice and be "glad.

"Your aſſured in Chriſt, Rowland Taylor."

CHAP. X.
Ann. 1554.

Ridley pens the relation of his diſputation.

Ridley, knowing their tricks, and ſuſpecting they would publiſh his diſputation unfairly, and to their own advantage, prudently took his pen, and gave an account of it with the greateſt exactneſs, as he could recover it in his memory. He was promiſed by the Prolocutor, that he ſhould have a view of the diſpute, as it was taken by the notaries, that he might ſupply and amend, and alter, as he ſhould ſee any error or miſtake in the notes. He promiſed him likewiſe, and that in the face and hearing of the reſt of the commiſſioners, and the whole ſchools, that he ſhould have a time and place allowed him, wherein he might produce what he had more to ſay, for the confirmation of his anſwers. But nothing was performed. Ridley never found language more ready to him, nor ſuch a preſence of mind in any buſineſs he had to do, as he had in this diſputation: which he took particular notice of, and thanked God for. Of this relation, as he himſelf had penned it, he wrote to Grindal, then at Frankford, "That except he had that he gathered himſelf "after his diſputation done, he could not think that he had "it truly; but if he had that, then he had therewithal the "whole manner, after the which he was uſed in that diſpu-"tation."

The Univerſity ſends the diſputations up to the Convocation.

This whole diſputation between theſe three excellent men, and the Oxford divines, was, under the ſeal of the Univerſity, and the ſubſcription of notaries, exhibited into the houſe of Convocation by Hugh Weſton, and ſome lawyers. This John Fox had found ſome years after, writ in the regiſter of a certain church in London. Whereupon, for the ſight hereof, he applied himſelf to Dr. Incent, that had been actuary: but he put him off, telling him the writings were in Boner's hand, or in the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and that he had them not; probably not being minded they ſhould come to light. Fox, when his pains ſucceeded not, wrote to the Archbiſhop and the Biſhop of London, Parker and Grindal, about 1567, acquainting them with this; and deſired their aſſiſtance: and the rather, becauſe perhaps there might have been other things met with there, not unworthy knowledge, under the ſame ſeal. And ſo he left the Archbiſhop and Biſhop to conſult as they thought fit for the finding out theſe writings of the diſputations.

340

ticks. And, while this was reading, they were aſked if they would turn? They bad them read on in the name of God: for they were not minded to turn. And ſo the ſentence of condemnation was awarded againſt them. Then the Archbiſhop ſaid, "From this your judgment and ſentence I ap- 341
"peal to the juſt judgment of the Almighty: truſting to be "preſent with him in heaven. For whoſe preſence in the "altar I am thus condemned." And ſo Cranmer was returned to Bocardo, and the other two to other places: as they were kept apart almoſt all the while they were in Oxon.

Weſton, after this ingrateful buſineſs done, went up the next week to London. And Cranmer wrote to the lords of the council a letter, containing two points: one was, to deſire the Queen's pardon as to his treaſon, (for ſo little favour could he find at court, that he had not yet this abſolutely granted him;) and the other was, an account of the diſputation: Weſton being deſired by the Archbiſhop to carry the letter. But, after he had carried it half way, reading the contents, he liked them ſo ill, that he ſent back the letter moſt churliſhly to Cranmer again. Indeed he cared not to carry complaints of himſelf to the court. But, becauſe it gives further light into theſe matters, I have inſerted it in the Appendix. Num. LXXIX.

Cranmer writes to the council.

It was ſuch an imaginary victory, as they had now got at Oxford, that they intended alſo to obtain at Cambridge. And much talk at this time aroſe, that Hoper, Rogers, Crome, and Bradford, whom they had in priſons at London, were to be had to this univerſity, to be baited, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, newly had been at Oxford: and ſeveral of the doctors of Oxford ſhould be ſent in likewiſe to Cambridge for this purpoſe. But Hoper, Farrar, Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, and the others, having an inkling of it, conſulted among themſelves what to do; and reſolved to decline it, unleſs they might have indifferent judges. And for this purpoſe Bradford ſent a private and truſty meſſenger to Oxford to Ridley, to have his, and his two fellows, their judgments concerning this matter. They were at this time all ſeparated from one another: ſo, though Ridley ſignified this in a letter to Cranmer, yet he could only give his

Diſputation intended at Cambridge.

BOOK III. Anno 1551. In his letter to Bradford.

own ſenſe. "He miſliked not (he ſaid) what they were "minded to do: for he looked for none other, but that, if "they anſwered before the ſame commiſſioners that he and "his fellows had done, they ſhould be ſerved and handled "as they were, *though ye were as well learned* (ſaid he) *as* "*ever was either Peter or Paul.* Yet he thought occaſion "might afterward be given them; and the conſideration of "the profit of their auditory might perchance move them "to do otherwiſe. But determinately to ſay what was beſt, "he could not; but truſted he, whoſe cauſe they had in "hand, would put them in mind to do that which ſhould "be moſt for his glory, the profit of his flock, and their "own ſalvation." It came at length to that forwardneſs, that Weſton and his complices had taken out the commiſſion. And it was eaſy to obtain ſuch a commiſſion at ſuch a Lord Chancellor's hands. And they were likely ſpeedily to put it in execution. Hoper, who ſeemed to have the firſt notice of it, ſent the intelligence in a letter to Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, and Philpot, priſoners in the King's Bench. He ſhewed them what his advice was, and deſired them to conſult among themſelves what courſe were beſt to be taken. His own thoughts were, conſidering what foul play the three learned men had at Oxford, and which they were like to have themſelves at this diſputation; I. Becauſe they did
342 commonly make falſe allegations of the doctors, and took pieces and ſcraps of them to prove their tenets, againſt the real mind and ſenſe of thoſe authors; they ſhould therefore refuſe wholly to diſpute, unleſs they might have books preſent before them. II. To have ſworn notaries, to take things ſpoken indifferently; which would be hard to have, the adverſaries having the overſight of all things: and ſo would make theirs better, and the Proteſtants worſe. III. If they perceived, when they were diſputing, that two or three, or more, ſpake together, and uſed taunts and ſcoffs, as they did at Oxon, then to refuſe to diſpute any longer; but to appeal to be heard before the Queen, and the whole council. Whereby this benefit would happen, that they ſhould be delivered from the commiſſioners, appointed to hear and judge them, who meant nothing leſs than to hear the cauſe indifferently, being all enemies already unto the Proteſtants,

and their cauſe, and at a point to give ſentence againſt them. And then many at the court might be ſtrengthened, who know the truth already; and others better informed, who erred rather of zeal than malice; and a third ſort, that be indurate, might be anſwered fully to their ſhame. He knew, he ſaid, the adverſaries would deny their appeal; but yet he adviſed to challenge it, and to take witneſs thereof, of ſuch as ſhould be preſent, and require, for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the Queen and council, or elſe before all the parliament, as it was uſed in King Edward's days. So wiſe and wary now were they. But I do not find that this project of the Papiſts went further. Hoper's letter.

And let us return, and viſit theſe three faithful priſoners of Jeſus Chriſt. After their diſputation and condemnation, their ſervants were diſcharged, that ſo they might not have any conference, or intelligence of any thing abroad. But God provided for every one of them, inſtead of their ſervants, faithful fellows, that would be content to hear and ſee, and do for them whatſoever they could; as Ridley wrote in a letter to Bradford. To theſe fathers alſo came ſupplies of meat, money, and ſhirts, from London, not only from ſuch as were of their acquaintance, but from ſtrangers, with whom they had no acquaintance; doing it for God's ſake, and his Goſpel's. The bailiffs ſo watched them now, that they would not ſuffer them to have any conferences among themſelves. The ſcholars of that Univerſity ſeemed univerſally againſt them. Which Ridley, in a letter to his friend Bradford, could not but take notice of, calling it "a wonderful thing, that, among ſo many, never yet ſcholar offered "any of them, ſo far as he knew, any manner of favour, "either for, or in Chriſt's cauſe." They had all things common among them, as meat, money, and whatever one had, that might do another good. Their condition after condemnation.

Neither of them now in priſon were idle. Old Latimer read the New Teſtament through ſeven times deliberately, while he was a priſoner. Cranmer buſied himſelf earneſtly in vindication of his writings of the Sacrament againſt Wincheſter, under the name of *Marcus Conſtantius*. And ſo did Ridley: who in two treatiſes, which he now made, ſhewed Their employment in priſon.

BOOK III. Anno 1554. 345

how Wincheſter varied from other Papiſts in eighteen articles, and from himſelf in eighteen more. And a third paper he wrote, ſhewing ſeveral things Wincheſter yielded unto, concerning the ſpiritual uſe of the ſacrament. Fox hath ſet down theſe in his hiſtory, and preſerved them to us; theſe collections of Ridley falling into his hands. Ridley alſo wrote, while he was a priſoner in Oxford, *De Abominationibus Sedis Romanæ, et Pontificum Romanorum:* and annotations more large upon Tonſtal's firſt book, (of *Tranſubſtantiation*, I ſuppoſe;) and more ſparingly upon the ſecond. He was now alſo diligent to ſet others on work for the expoſing falſe religion: deſiring one Grimbold to tranſlate Laurentius Valla his book, which he made and wrote againſt the fable of Conſtantine's donation and glorious exaltation of the ſee of Rome. And, having done that, he would have had him to tranſlate a work of Æneas Sylvius, *De Geſtis Baſilienſis Concilii*: "in which although (ſaid he) there be many "things that ſavour of the pan, yet I dare ſay the Papiſts "would glory but a little to ſee ſuch books go forth in "Engliſh." He directed Auſtin Bernher, Latimer's ſervant, to recommend thoſe works unto Grimbold, who had been his chaplain, and a man (as Ridley gave him the character) of much eloquence both in Engliſh and Latin; (but he complied and ſubſcribed.) And he alſo bad Auſtin tell Grimbold, "that if he would know where to have theſe books, "he might find them in a work ſet forth by Ortwinus Gra- "tius, entitled, *Faſciculus rerum expetendarum.*" And added, "that if ſuch things had been ſet forth in our Engliſh tongue "heretofore, he ſuppoſed great good might have come to "Chriſt's church thereby."

Letters of the Martyrs.

Other works of Ridley in priſon.

But we have not yet mentioned all the pieces that Ridley wrote in priſon. For, beſides thoſe above mentioned, were theſe following. I. A little treatiſe, which was jointly compoſed by him and Latimer in the Tower, (which is preſerved in Fox,) with the letters N. R. before Ridley's ſayings, and H. L. before Latimer's. II. A draught, which he drew out of the Evangeliſts and St. Paul, ſhewing thence that the words of the Lord's ſupper are figuratively to be underſtood, alleging out of the doctors, three of the Greek church, Origen, Chryſoſtom, and Theodoret; and three of the Latin, Ter-

tullian, Auguſtin, and Gelaſius. III. Three poſitions to the third queſtion propounded in Oxford, concerning the propitiatory ſacrifice of the maſs. IV. His diſputation in the ſchools, as he wrote it, after it was over. V. A letter, *Ad Fratres in diverſis Carceribus*. All theſe fell into the hands of the Papiſts by this miſhap, or treachery. Grimbold, expreſſing a great deſire to have every thing that Ridley had writ during his impriſonment, Mr. Shipſide, Ridley's brother-in-law, procured and ſent him all thoſe writings before mentioned: but they were all ſeized, whether in Grimbold's poſſeſſion, or in the ſending them to him, it was uncertain. Some ſuſpected Grimbold himſelf, but others rather the meſſenger; for it would not enter into Shipſide's head that Grimbold ſhould play ſuch a Judas's part. CHAP. XI. Anno 1554.

CHAP. XII. 344

A Parliament. Pole reconciles the Realm.

GREAT care was now to be taken of getting parliament-men that might do what was to be laid before them, now the Pope's legate was to be received, and the laſt parliament failing expectation. Therefore letters were diſpatched from the Queen, and intereſts made all the nation over, to procure ſuch perſons to be elected as ſhould be named to them. In a manuſcript, containing divers orders that were ſent into Norfolk in Queen Mary's time, there is a letter from that Queen, anno 2°, dated October 6, to the Earl of Suſſex, directing him to aſſiſt in chooſing ſuch men to ſit in parliament, "as were of wiſe, grave, and catholick ſort; ſuch as "indeed meant the true honour of God, with the proſperity "of the nation. The advancement whereof we, (as the let-"ter runneth,) and our dear huſband the King, do chiefly "profeſs and intend, without alteration of any man's par-"ticular poſſeſſion, as, amongſt other falſe rumours, the "hinderers of our good purpoſes, and favourers of here-"ſies, do moſt utterly report." For, to make the intent of reſtoring the abbey-lands to be the leſs credited, it was The Queen's letters, directing the elections of parliament-men.

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

thought convenient to be laid upon the hereticks. With theſe general letters there ſeemed to go private inſtructions what particular men were to be ſet up: for, upon the aforeſaid letter, the Earl of Suſſex ſent a letter, October 14, to Sir Tho. Woodhouſe, high ſheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, and to Sir William Woodhouſe, about the elections of knights of thoſe ſhires; *viz.* "That they ſhould reſerve their "intereſts and voices for ſuch as he ſhould name, and that he "would ſoon conſult with them about the matter." He then, in purſuit of the Queen's letter, recommended to the bailiff of Yarmouth, John Millicent, to be elected burgeſs for that town. This parliament ſate November 11.

Pole comes over.

Cardinal Pole was this ſummer brought to Flanders by the Emperor, who had ſtayed him before on the way. The Queen ſent over the Lord Paget and the Lord Haſtings to the Cardinal to conduct him over, in quality of the Pope's legate. And the ſame day he landed at Dover, (which was November 21,) the bill paſſed for the taking off his attainder. Three days after he came to London, and ſo to Lambeth-houſe: which was ready prepared for his coming. Cardinal Pole, before he came into England, and in the laſt reign, had the reputation here ordinarily of a virtuous, ſober, and learned man; and was much beloved by the Engliſh nation, as well for his qualities, as his honourable extraction. Latimer, in one of his ſermons before King Edward, hath theſe words of him: "I never remember that man, (ſpeaking of "Pole,) but I remember him with a heavy heart; a witty "man, a learned man, a man of a noble houſe: ſo in favour, "that, if he had tarried in the realm, and would have con-"formed himſelf to the King's proceedings, I heard ſay, "and I believe it verily, he had been Biſhop of York at this "day. And he would have done much good in that part "of the realm: for thoſe quarters have always had need of
345 "learned men, and a preaching prelate." One great author the Cardinal much converſed in was, St. Hierom. Latimer wiſhed "that he would have followed St. Hierom in his ex-"poſition of that place, *Come out of her, my people*: where "that father underſtood it of Rome, and called that city, "*The purple whore of Babylon.* Almighty God ſaith, *Get "you from it*; get you from Rome, ſaith Hierom. It were

"(fubjoined Latimer) more commendable to go from it, than "to go to it, as Pole hath done."

Anno 1554.

The Cardinal abfolves parliament and convocation.

Soon after his return into England, he was mighty bufy in reconciling the realm to the Pope. He performed it in his own perfon to the parliament, on the thirtieth of November, with much folemnity; and to the convocation on the fixth of December. On which day, the parliament being diffolved, he, the Lord Legate, fent for the whole convocation of upper and lower Houfe to Lambeth: and there he abfolved them all from their perjuries, fchifms, and herefies. Which abfolution they received upon their knees. Then he gave them an exhortation, and congratulated their converfion: and fo they departed.

The clergy again wait upon the Legate.

January 23, upon the difmiffion of the convocation, the bifhops and inferior clergy waited again upon the Legate at Lambeth. Where he willed them all to repair to their cures and charges, and exhorted them to entreat their flocks with all mildnefs, and to endeavour to win them by gentlenefs, rather than by extremity and rigour: and fo let them depart.

A commiffion granted by him againft hereticks.

January 28, he granted a commiffion to the Bifhop of Winchefter, and divers other bifhops, to fit upon, and judge according to the laws lately revived againft hereticks, all fuch miniflers and others that were in prifon for herefy: which was done undoubtedly to take off all the eminenteft of the Proteftant clergy, then in hold. And the very fame day (fuch haffe they made) they fat in commiffion, in St. Mary Overies church, upon Rogers, Hoper, and Cardmaker. And, the next to that, upon Hoper and Rogers again, upon Taylor alfo, and Bradford; when the two former were formally excommunicated. The day following they fat upon Taylor and Bradford again: to which were added Ferrar, Crome, and Saunders. Then they excommunicated Bradford and Saunders.

His commiffions to all the bifhops, to reconcile their dioceffes.

But, that this reconciliation to the Pope and church of Rome might found the louder in all parts and corners of the nation, and all perfons every where might make their formal fubmiffions to the Pope, and thankfully take the mighty benefit of his yoke upon them again, the Legate was not contented to reconcile the nation himfelf under their re-

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

preſentatives in the parliament and convocation: but, upon pretence that he could not, in his own perſon, pardon and reconcile all the people, therefore he granted out a commiſſion to each biſhop, in his own dioceſe, to do it to their reſpective clergy and laity, deputed in his name, and by his authority derived from the Pope.

The commiſſion to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

Such a commiſſion he granted, February 8, to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, that ſee being then held vacant: "Therein authorizing them to abſolve all manner of perſons, "as well lay as eccleſiaſticks, religious as ſecular, from "their ſchiſm, hereſies, and errors, and from all cenſures due
346 "thereupon. And to diſpenſe with the clergy upon divers "irregularities: as with ſuch who had received orders "from ſchiſmatical biſhops, or had been collated into their "livings by them. To diſpenſe alſo with the religious and "regulars for departing from their cloiſters without the "Pope's licence, permitting them to wear the habit of "prieſts, and to ſerve cures, conſidering the ſcarcity of "prieſts, and to live out of their cloiſters. Alſo, to diſ-"penſe with prieſts that had married wives, though they "were widows, or women defiled, and with ſuch who had "been twice married, doing penance and forſaking their "wives. Allowing them to miniſter at the altar, and to "ſerve cures, provided it were out of the dioceſes where "they were married. The ſaid biſhops, by this commiſſion, "were alſo empowered to grant, to fit rectors and curates, "a power to reconcile and abſolve their reſpective pariſhes."

No. LXXX. This commiſſion I have placed in the Appendix, as it was tranſcribed out of the regiſter of the church of Canterbury.

The Legate's inſtructions to the biſhops.

The Lord Legate alſo, for the better diſcharging of this his mighty office, gave out his inſtructions how the biſhops and officials of the vacant ſees ſhould perform this work of the reconciliation, deputed to them by the ſaid Legate: together with the form of abſolution to be pronounced. Which inſtructions and form, as they were extracted from the ſaid regiſter, may be found in the Appendix. Each biſhop was to call before him the clergy of his reſpective city, and to inſtruct them in divers things: as, concerning the Pope's fatherly love and charity towards the Engliſh nation, in ſending Cardinal Pole his legate hither, as ſoon as he knew

Numb. LXXXI.

the Lady Mary was declared Queen, to bring this kingdom, CHAP. XII.
ſo long ſeparated from the catholick church, into union with it, and to comfort and reſtore them to the grace of God: concerning the joyful coming of the ſaid Legate; concerning what was done the laſt parliament, when the Lords and Commons were reconciled; and concerning the repealing of all the laws made againſt the authority of the Roman ſee by the two laſt Kings, and reſtoring obedience to the Pope and church of Rome: concerning the authority reſtored likewiſe to the biſhops; eſpecially, that they might proceed againſt heretieks and ſchiſmaticks. Then the biſhops were to acquaint their clergy with the faculties yielded to them by the Legate: which were to be read openly. Then all that were lapſed into error and ſchiſm were to be invited humbly to crave abſolution and reconciliation, and diſpenſations as well for their orders, as for their beneſices. Next, a day was fixed when the clergy were to appear, and petition for the ſaid abſolutions and diſpenſations. On which day, after they had confeſſed their errors, and ſacramentally promiſed that they would make confeſſion of the ſame to the biſhop himſelf, or ſome other catholick prieſts, and to perform the penance that ſhould be enjoined them; then the biſhop was to reconcile them, and to diſpenſe with their irregularities: always obſerving a diſtinction between thoſe that only fell into ſchiſm and error, and thoſe who were the teachers of them, and leaders of others into ſin. The ſame time was to be appointed another day for a ſolemn feſtival; wherein the biſhops and curates, in their churches, ſhould ſignify to the people all that the biſhops 347
before had ſpoken to their clergy; and then ſhould invite them all to confeſs their errors, and to return into the boſom of the church: promiſing them, that all their paſt crimes ſhould be forgiven, if ſo be they repented of them, and renounced them. And a certain term was to be fixed, namely, the whole octaves of Eaſter, within which term all ſhould come and be reconciled. But, the time to be reconciled in being lapſed, all that remained unreconciled, as alſo all that returned to their vomit after they had been reconciled, were to be moſt ſeverely proceeded againſt.

Anno 1554.

The ſaid biſhops and officials (where any ſees were vacant)

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

were to name and depute the rectors of the parish-churches, and other fit persons, who should absolve the laity of their parishes from heresy, and schism, and censures, according to a form to be given them by the bishops.

The bishops, and officials, and curates were to have each a book; in which were to be writ the names and parishes of all that were reconciled: that it might afterwards be known who were reconciled, and who were not.

After the octave of Easter was past, the bishops were to visit, first their cities, and then their dioceses; and to summon before them all such as had not been reconciled; and to know of them the cause why they would not depart from their errors: and, remaining obstinate in them, they were to proceed against them.

In this visitation all the clergy were to be required to shew the titles of their orders and benefices; and notice was to be taken if any defect were therein. And now the bishops were to take care to root out any errors in their dioceses, and to depute fit persons to make sermons, and hear confessions. They were also to take care to have the sacred canons observed; and to have inserted into the books of service the name of St. Thomas the martyr, and of the Pope, formerly blotted out: and to pray for the Pope, according as it was used before the schism.

They were advised to insist much upon the great miseries we were in before, and the great grace that God now had shewed to this people: exhorting them to acknowledge these mercies, and devoutly to pray for the King and Queen, that had deserved so exceedingly well of this kingdom; and especially to pray for a happy offspring from the Queen.

Pole a severe persecutor.

In these instructions there are several strictures, that make it appear Pole was not so gentle towards the heretieks (as the professors of the Gospel were then styled) as is reported, but rather the contrary; and that he went hand in hand with the bloody bishops of these days. For it is plain here, that he put the bishops upon proceeding with them according to the sanguinary laws, lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind of inquisition by him set up, whereby not a man

might escape, that stood not well affected to popery! I mean, his ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names of all such were to be written, that, in every place and parish in England, were reconciled: and so, whosoever were not found in those books might be known to be no friends to the Pope; and so to be proceeded against. And indeed, after Pole's crafty and zealous management of this reconciliation, all that good opinion, that men had before conceived of him, vanished: and they found themselves much mistaken in him; especially, seeing so many learned and pious Gospel-bishops and ministers imprisoned and martyred under him, and by his commission. Insomuch that now people spake of him as bad as of the Pope himself, or the worst of his cardinals. The Gospellers before this did use to talk much among themselves, that he did but dissemble at Rome in his present outward compliances with them and their superstitions; and that he would, upon a good opportunity, shew himself an open professor of the truth. And indeed he often had conferences before him of Christ, and of the Gospel, of a living faith, and justification by faith alone; and he often would wish the true doctrine might prevail. But now the mask was taken off, and he shewed himself what he was. A notable letter to this purpose was written, concerning the Cardinal, about this time, by a pious Italian to his friend, who had conceived these good opinions of him. This I have put in the Appendix; and the rather, because it will give some light into our present history.

CHAP. XII. Anno 1554. 348

Numb. LXXXII.

CHAP. XIII.

A Convocation. Articles framed therein.

A convocation. Articles presented by the upper House.

AT a convocation the latter end of this year, an address was made by the lower House to the upper, wherein they petitioned for divers things, in twenty-eight articles, meet to be considered for the reformation of the clergy. One whereof was, "That all books, both Latin and English, concerning

BOOK III. "any heretical, erroneous, or ſlanderous doctrines, might "be deſtroyed and burnt throughout the realm." And among theſe books, they ſet Thomas Cranmer, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his book, made againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, in the forefront; and then, next, the *Schiſmatical Book*, as they called it, *viz.* the Communion Book. To which they ſubjoined the book of ordering eccleſiaſtical miniſters, and all ſuſpect tranſlations of the Old and New Teſtament; and all other books of that nature. (So that, if Cranmer's book was burnt, it was burnt with very good company; the Holy Bible, and the Communion Book.) And that ſuch as had theſe books ſhould bring the ſame to the ordinary by a certain day, or otherwiſe to be taken and reputed as favourers of thoſe doctrines. And that it might be lawful for all biſhops to make inquiry, from time to time, for ſuch books, and to take them from the owners. And, for the repreſſing of ſuch peſtilent books, order ſhould be taken with all ſpeed, that none ſuch ſhould be printed or ſold within the realm, nor brought from beyond ſea, upon grievous penalties. And from another article we may learn, from what ſpring all the bloody doings that followed the enſuing years ſprang; namely, from the popiſh clergy. For they petitioned, "That the ſtatutes made in the fifth of "Richard II. and in the ſecond of Henry IV. and the
349 "ſecond of Henry V. againſt hereſy, Lollards, and falſe "preachers, might be revived, and put in force. And that "biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtical ordinaries, [whoſe hands "had been tied by ſome later acts,] might be reſtored to "their priſtine juriſdiction againſt hereticks, ſchiſmaticks, "and their fautors, in as large and ample manner as they "were in the firſt year of Henry VIII." I ſhall not recite here the whole addreſs, as I find it in a volume of the Benet College library, becauſe the Biſhop of Sarum hath faithfully printed it thence in his Hiſtory. Only I obſerve, that the 17th article is in the manuſcript ſcratched out and croſſed; *viz.* "That all exempt places whatſoever might be from "henceforth under the juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop or "Biſhop, or Archdeacon, in whoſe dioceſes or archdeacon-"aries they were." That they judged might grate a little too much upon the Pope's authority, which they were now

Anno 1554. Cranmer's book to be burnt.

Intit. Synodalia. Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 266.

receiving, ſince theſe exemptions were made by popes. And the laſt, or 28th article, was added by another hand; *viz.* "That all eccleſiaſtical perſons, that had lately ſpoiled "cathedral, collegiate, or other churches, of their own "heads, might be compelled to reſtore them, and all and "ſingular things by them taken away, or to the true value, "and to reedify ſuch things as by them were deſtroyed or "defaced." This I ſuppoſe was added by Boner's intereſt, that he might hereby have a pretence againſt Ridley, his predeceſſor; it affording a fair opportunity to cruſh the good biſhops and preachers that had, in zeal to God's glory, taken away out of their churches all inſtruments of ſuperſtition and idolatry. And it might ſerve their turn who had lately, in a moſt barbarous manner, plundered the rich Archbiſhop of York. CHAP. XIII. Anno 1554.

And as they of this convocation were for burning heretics' books, ſo they were as well diſpoſed to the burning of the hereticks themſelves. For Proteſtants were already not only impriſoned, but put to death, without any warrant of law, but only by virtue of commiſſions from the Queen and the Lord Chancellor. Whereupon, when one in the convocation ſtarted this objection, "That there was no law to "condemn them," Weſton, the prolocutor, anſwered, "It "forceth not for a law; we have a commiſſion to proceed "with them: and, when they be diſpatched, let their friends "ſue the law." Men burnt to death without law.

CHAP. XIV.

The Condition of the Proteſtants in Priſon. Freewillers.

BY this time, by the diligence of the Papiſts, the popiſh religion was fully eſtabliſhed in England. This apoſtaſy Cranmer ſaw with a ſad heart before his death, and all his labour overturned. And Ridley ſends the bad news of it from Oxon to Grindal, beyond ſea, in theſe words; "To Popery fully eſtabliſhed.

BOOK III. "tell you much naughty matter in a few words, *Papiſmus* "*apud nos ubique in pleno ſuo antiquo robore regnat.*"

Anno 1554. Proteſtants.

As for the Proteſtants, ſome were put in priſons, ſome eſcaped beyond ſea; ſome went to maſs, and ſome recanted; and many were burned, and ended their lives in the flames for religion's ſake.

350

The paſtors in priſon.

They that were in priſon, whereof Cranmer was the chief, being the paſtors and teachers of the flock, did what in them lay to keep up the religion, under this perſecution, among the profeſſors: which made them write many comfortable and inſtructive letters to them; and ſend them their advices, according as opportunity ſerved.

Free-willers.

One thing there now fell out, which cauſed ſome diſturbance among the priſoners. Many of them that were under reſtraint for the profeſſion of the Goſpel, were ſuch as held freewill, tending to the derogation of God's grace, and refuſed the doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, and original ſin. They were men of ſtrict and holy lives, but very hot in their opinions and diſputations, and unquiet. Divers of them were in the King's Bench, where Bradford, and many other Goſpellers, were. Many whereof by their conferences they gained to their own perſuaſions. Bradford had much diſcourſe with them. The name of their chief man was Harry Hart; who had writ ſomething in defence of his doctrine. Trew and Abingdon were teachers alſo among them: Kemp, Gybſon, and Chamberlain, were others. They ran their notions as high as Pelagius did, and valued no learning: and the writings and authorities of the learned they utterly rejected and deſpiſed. Bradford was apprehenſive that they might now do great harm in the church, and therefore out of priſon wrote a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the three chief heads of the reformed (though oppreſſed) church in England, to take ſome cognizance of this matter, and to conſult with them in remedying it. And with him joined Biſhop Ferrar, Rowland Taylor, and John Philpot. This letter, worthy to be read, may be found among the letters of the martyrs, and tranſcribed in the Appendix. Upon this occaſion Ridley wrote a treatiſe of *God's Election and Predeſtination*. And Bradford wrote

Bradford's concern with them.

Numb. LXXXIII.

another upon the ſame ſubject; and ſent it to thoſe three fathers in Oxford for their approbation: and, theirs being obtained, the reſt of the eminent divines, in and about London, were ready to ſign it alſo.

His kindneſs to them.

I have ſeen another letter of Bradford to certain of theſe men, who were ſaid to hold the error of the Pelagians and Papiſts concerning man's free will, and were then priſoners with him in the King's Bench. By which letter it appeared, that Bradford had often reſorted to them, and conferred with them; and, at his own charge and hinderance, had done them good. But, ſeeing their obſtinacy and clamours againſt him, he forbore to come at them any more: but yet wrote letters to them, and ſent them relief. They told him, "he "was a great ſlander to the word of God in reſpect of his "doctrine, in that he believed and affirmed the ſalvation of "God's children to be ſo certain, that they ſhould aſſuredly "enjoy the ſame. For they ſaid, it hanged partly upon our "perſeverance to the end. Bradford ſaid, it hung upon "God's grace in Chriſt; and not upon our perſeverance in "any point: for then were grace no grace. They charged "him, that he was not ſo kind to them as he ought in the 351
"diſtribution of the charity-money, that was then ſent by "well-diſpoſed perſons to the priſoners in Chriſt, [of which "Bradford was the purſe-bearer:] but he aſſured them he "never defrauded them of the value of a penny: and at "that time ſent them at once thirteen ſhillings and four "pence; and, if they needed as much more, he promiſed "that they ſhould have it." But, abating theſe little caſual heats and peeviſhneſſes, there was a good chriſtian correſpondence maintained among them. The fore-mentioned holy man adviſed them, "that though in ſome things they "agreed not, yet let love bear the bell away; and let "us pray," ſaid he, "one for another, and be careful one "for another." He ſaid, "that he was perſuaded of them, "that they feared the Lord; and therefore he loved them. "I have loved you in him, my dear hearts, though you "have taken it otherwiſe, without cauſe on me given." He added, "that he had not ſuffered any copy of his treatiſe of "*Predeſtination* to go abroad, becauſe he would ſuppreſs all "occaſion ſo far as might be. I am going," ſaid he, "be-

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

"fore you to my God and your God, to my Father and "your Father, to my Chriſt and your Chriſt, to my home "and your home."

Bradford gaineth ſome of them.

By Bradford's pains and diligence he gained ſome from their errors: and particularly one Skelthorp: for whom, in a letter to Careleſs, he thanked God, who gave this man to ſee the truth at the length, and to give place to it; hoping that he would be ſo heedy in all his converſation, that his old acquaintance might thereby think themſelves gone aſtray.

Careleſs's pains with them.

Careleſs alſo, another eminent martyr, as well as Bradford, had much conference with theſe men, priſoners with him in the King's Bench. Of whoſe contentiouſneſs he complained in a letter to Philpot. And there is extant an anſwer of Philpot to Careleſs about them: where he writes, "That he was ſorry to hear of the great trouble which "theſe ſchiſmaticks did daily put him to, and wiſhed that "he were with him in part, to releaſe his grief. He bad "him take his advice, and to be patient, whatſoever his "adverſaries could ſay or do againſt him: that he ſhould "commit the ſucceſs of his labours [in rightly informing "theſe men] unto God; and not to ceaſe, with charity, to "do his endeavour in the defence of the truth, againſt theſe "arrogant and ſelf-willed blinded ſcatterers. That theſe "ſects were neceſſary for the trial of our faith, and for the "beautifying thereof: not to be perverted with them that "were perverſe and intractable. That he ſhould ſhew as "much modeſty and humility as he might poſſible: and "that then others, ſeeing his modeſt converſation among "theſe contentious babblers, ſhould glorify God in the truth "of him, and the more abhor them. That he ſhould be "content that Shimei do rail at David, and caſt ſtones "a while. That he ſhould deſire all the brethren, in the "bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, to keep the bond of peace, which "is the unity of Chriſt's church: to let no root of bitterneſs ſpring up, which the Devil, with all his diligence, "ſeeketh to thruſt in among the children of God. To kiſs "one another with the kiſs of unfeigned brotherly love, "and to take one another by the hand cheerfully, and ſay, "Let us take up our croſs together, and go to the mount of "Calvary."

Martyrs' Letters. Philpot's counſel.

CHAP. XIV.
Anno 1554.

This contention could not be laid aſleep amongſt them, notwithſtanding the grievous tribulations they endured for the ſame cauſe of religion. They wrote alſo againſt one another: for, in 1556, Careleſs wrote a confeſſion of his faith, ſome part whereof favoured abſolute predeſtination againſt freewill. This confeſſion he ſent unto the Proteſtant priſoners in Newgate from the King's Bench, where he lay. Whereunto they generally ſubſcribed; and particularly twelve that were a little before condemned to die. Hart, having gotten a copy of this confeſſion, on the back-ſide thereof wrote his confeſſion in oppoſition thereunto. When they in Newgate had ſubſcribed Careleſs's confeſſion, this Hart propounded his unto them; and he, with one Kemp and Gybſon, would have perſuaded them from the former to the latter, but prevailed not. One Chamberlain alſo wrote againſt it. I do not meet with this confeſſion; only I find one article was, "That the ſecond book of Common Prayer, "ſet forth in King Edward's days, was good and godly: "but that the church of Chriſt hath authority to enlarge "and diminiſh things in the ſame book, ſo far forth as it is "agreeable to Scripture." This paper of Careleſs's confeſſion, with the anſwer wrote on the back-ſide by Hart, fell by ſome accident into the hands of Dr. Martin, a great Papiſt; who took occaſion hence to ſcoff at the profeſſors of the Goſpel, becauſe of theſe diviſions and various opinions amongſt them. But Careleſs, before the ſaid Martin, diſowned Hart, and ſaid that he had ſeduced and beguiled many a ſimple ſoul with his foul Pelagian opinions, both in the days of King Edward, and ſince his departure.

352 Careleſs draws up a confeſſion of faith.

Beſides theſe anti-predeſtinarians, there were ſome few, who laid in priſon for the Goſpel, were Arians, and diſbelieved the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt. Two of theſe lay in the King's Bench. Theſe different opinions occaſioned ſuch unſeemly quarrelſome diſputes and heats among them, that the Marſhal was fain to ſeparate them from one another. And, in 1556, the noiſe of this reached to the council; who, the better to know the matters controverted between them, ſent Dr. Martin to the King's Bench to examine it.

Some few Arians.

Theſe were ſome of the tranſactions that paſſed among the priſoners. Another matter concerning them deſerves

The priſoners offer to

BOOK III.

relating: which was this; they boldly and bravely made a declaration to the Queen and parliament that fat this year: taxing them for overthrowing (as they had lately done) the laws of King Henry and King Edward, and the reformation so maturely and deliberately made, and after the rejection of a religion, which, as they faid, there was not a parifh in England defired to have reftored again. They offered likewife to maintain the homilies and fervice, fet forth in King Edward's days, before them, either by writing, or by difputation in the Engliſh tongue. By whom this declaration was drawn up, unleſs by John Bradford, I know not: for I meet with it in a MS. which contains divers pieces of that good man. This remarkable declaration I have repofited in the Appendix. This now is the fecond time a public challenge was made to juſtify King Edward's reformation; the former the laſt year by Cranmer, the latter now by divers of the learned men in priſon.

Anno 1554. juſtify King Edward VI's proceedings.

Numb. LXXXIV.

353 And again offer it.

After they had lain fifteen or fixteen months thus in priſon, their livings, houſes, and poſſeſſions, goods and books taken from them, they made ſuch another addreſs unto the King and Queen, and the parliament: therein undertaking, either by word or writing, before them, or indifferent arbiters to be appointed by them, to prove themſelves no hereticks, nor teachers of hereſy, as they were pretended to be, nor cut off from the true catholick church; (though by the popiſh clergy excommunicated:) and, ſecondly, by the teſtimony of Chriſt, his Prophets and Apoſtles, and the godly fathers of the church, to prove the doctrine of the church, the homilies and ſervice, taught and uſed in King Edward's time, to be the true doctrine of Chriſt's catholick church, and moſt agreeable to the articles of the chriſtian faith. And this was the third public challenge they made. This being preſerved in Fox's Acts, I forbear to tranſcribe it.

Edit. 1610. p. 1348.

CHAP. XV.

The Exiles, and their Condition.

BUT let us now turn our eyes from the prisoners, which were kept under close confinement here in England, unto the exiles, that, by the good providence of God, made their flight into foreign countries from these storms at home. These were both of the clergy and laity: who, though great watch was laid for them, and prohibitions given out against any that should privately attempt to transport themselves, yet, by taking their opportunities, and the favour of divers masters of small vessels at Lee in Essex, and upon the coasts in those parts, they safely got to the other side of the sea. Anno 1554. The exiles.

They scattered themselves, and took up their harbours as they could. But they found little hospitality in Saxony, and other places in Germany, where Lutheranism was professed. But, on the contrary, the exile English were much hated by those of that profession, because they looked upon them as Sacramentaries, and holding as Calvin and Peter Martyr did in the doctrine of the sacrament. Therefore, when any English came among them for shelter, they expelled them out of their cities. And when a grave pastor of Saxony (a friend of Peter Martyr's, who, though he were a minister, yet was not of their mind) had entertained some of them, the rest clamoured against him, and hated him for it. About this time the Saxon divines wrote many books against the Sacramentaries; and namely, one Joachim Westphalus wrote a book against Calvin. And he and the rest got these books printed at Frankford, on purpose, as Martyr conjectured, the more to spite the English and French churches that abode now there, and to provoke them. The Lutherans refuse to give harbour to the exiles. Mart. Ep. p. 770. Ep. Pet. Martyr. ad Calvin. Anno 1555.

At Wesel the English were under some trouble: and the senate were about to command them to depart thence, because of their different sentiments from the Augustan Confession in some points. But Philip Melancthon interposed, and interceded with the senate on their behalf. And, when some clamoured against them, he took their part, saying, The English at Wesel. Bal. Praef. ad Act. Pontif. 354

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

"That their caſe ought to be weighed by friendly diſ-
"putations, and not exploded by noiſe and hiſſing: and de-
"clared his judgment to be, that theſe poor exiles were to
"be retained and helped, not afflicted and vexed by any
"rough ſentence." He wrote alſo to the governors of Frankford to the ſame purpoſe; *viz.* "That the Engliſh
"were not to be oppreſſed, but to be cheriſhed, conſidering
"their ſentiments were found in the main articles of the
"chriſtian confeſſion: and that whereas they differed in
"ſome points, they were to be inſtructed and informed, and
"not to be rudely thrown out from among them by force
"and violence."

The Lutherans' heat againſt Sacramentaries.

And indeed it was admirable to obſerve at this time the exceeding heats that were in the Lutherans againſt all other Proteſtants, only for differing from them in this one point of the ſacrament. There was a book publiſhed in the year 1555, in favour of their opinion of the corporeal preſence, which was called, *Farrago Doctrinæ Lutheranæ*. This P. Martyr called *valde inſulſa*, a very fooliſh book. It contained a collection of ſentences out of the Fathers, and alſo out of the writings of Luther, Philip, Brentius, Pomeran, &c. They added ſome out of Bucer, Illyricus, and Joachim Weſtphalus, to ſhew that they agreed together. They inſerted divers letters, ſometime writ againſt the Sacramentaries. Indeed Calvin and Martyr they mentioned not by name, but A Laſco they did. In this book there was a diſcourſe added under this title, *Quod Chriſti corpus ſit ubique:* which was to ſerve as a proof of their doctrine. And in the concluſion there was a common-place, *De Magiſtratus officio*: which was thought to be put in upon no other reaſon, but to inflame and irritate princes againſt the Sacramentaries. Theſe Saxon divines were exceeding hot againſt thoſe that believed not as they did: in their ordinary diſcourſes they ſtyled them *Hereticks*, *Falſe Prophets*, *Suermeros*, *Sacramentiperdas*. About this time they were gathering new votes againſt Calvin, and, as it was thought, they intended to attempt ſome excommunication againſt ſuch as differed from them in this point. And this that I have ſaid is enough to explain the reaſon of the inhoſpitality of the Lutherans to our exiles.

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1554.

But in other places they were received with much kindneſs, and had the liberty of their religious worſhip granted them; as in Straſburgh, Frankford, Embden, Doeſburge, Baſil, Zurick, Arrow, Geneva.

At Zurick and other places well received.

At Zurick they were received into one houſe with Bullinger, and had great favour and countenance ſhewn them by the townſmen and magiſtrates: who offered them, by Bullinger, to ſupply them with ſuch a quantity of breadcorn and wine, as ſhould ſerve to ſuſtain thirteen or fourteen people. But they with thanks refuſed it: having, I ſuppoſe, wherewith to ſubſiſt otherwiſe of themſelves, and being willing to be as little burdenſome as might be.

Their employments.

In theſe places ſome followed their ſtudies, ſome taught ſchools, ſome wrote books, ſome aſſiſted at the printing-preſs, and grew very dear to the learned men in thoſe places. At Embden, they having gotten among them, by Sir John Cheke's means, as was thought, an original copy of Archbiſhop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, tranſlated it into Latin, and printed it there, with a preface before it. And there they preſerved the ſaid original, as a moſt invaluable treaſure. Here they printed other good books in Engliſh, and conveyed them into England. At Geneva a club of them employed themſelves in tranſlating the holy Bible into Engliſh, intending to do it with more correctneſs than had hitherto been done; having the opportunity of conſulting with Calvin and Beza in order thereunto. What they performed may be perceived by the Bible that goes under the name of the Geneva Bible at this day. It was in thoſe days, when it firſt came forth, better eſteemed of than of later times. At Frankford, where they had great countenance of the magiſtrates of the city, aroſe great contentions and quarrels among themſelves about the diſcipline of the church, and in framing a new ſervice, different from what was before ſet forth in King Edward's reign, to be uſed in the public congregation: which new ſervice came nearer to the form of the church of Geneva. This occaſioned great troubles, animoſities, and ſeparations, to the diſcredit of themſelves and the reformation. Theſe matters may be ſeen at large in the *Troubles at Frankford*. There is one thing, which, that book making, I think,

Contentions at Frankford.

355

BOOK III.

Anno 1554.

Some children of the exiles baptized by Lutherans.

no mention of, I will here relate. Some of the Engliſh upon this diſſenſion carried their children to be baptized by Lutheran prieſts: for though the Lutherans were againſt the poor exiles, they thought ſo well of them, as to be willing their children ſhould be initiated into the church by their miniſtry. The occaſion whereof ſeemed to be, that, in the diviſions of this church, one party would not let their children be baptized by the Engliſh miniſter. This cauſing a new diſturbance, ſome wrote to the great divine P. Martyr, now at Argentine, for his reſolution of this queſtion; *An liceat hominibus evangelicis baptiſmum a Lutheranis accipere.* To this he anſwered in a letter to the church, diſapproving of their doings: telling them, "That the way "to heal their differences was, to bring their children to be "baptized in ſuch churches, with which they agreed in "faith and doctrine." So that this created a new quarrel among them; for ſome held it unlawful to receive baptiſm from thoſe that were not orthodox in their doctrine: and others again thought it lawful. And this made them ſend to Martyr for his judgment, as aforeſaid: who wrote, "That he would not ſay it was unlawful, for that it could "not be judged by the word of God; but he diſliked the "practice, and propounded divers arguments againſt it." Thoſe that were for it, ſaid, "It was an indifferent thing." To which Martyr made this reply, "That indifferent things "were not to be uſed to the ſcandal of the weak." They ſaid, "The difference was not ſo great between us in the "matter of the ſacrament." But Martyr ſaid, "It was of "great moment, becauſe in it there was a conteſt con-"cerning the chief head of religion." They added, "That "the Lutheran divines did think, in the matter of baptiſm, "as they did." But Martyr anſwered, "That they were "miſtaken: for thoſe divines affirmed more of the ſacra-"ment than is fit: and tied the grace of God to baptiſm:
356 "and that they thought there was no ſalvation without "baptiſm: and that they affirmed that infants had faith."

Pieces of Ridley's writings conveyed to Frankford.

To the exiles reſiding here at Frankford, ſome, in the year 1555, conveyed Gardiner's book againſt Cranmer, entitled *Marcus Antonius*, with Ridley's anſwer to the objections of that book, and a treatiſe in Engliſh of tranſubſtantiation,

wrote by the ſame Ridley. This laſt they intended to turn into Latin, and ſo to print both. But, on ſecond thoughts, they demurred upon it: fearing it might enrage Gardiner the more againſt Ridley, who was yet alive. Whereupon Grindal wrote to him to know his mind therein before they proceeded to print.

Exiles at Baſil.

Many of the fugitives took up their reſidence at Baſil upon two reaſons: one was, becauſe the people of that city were eſpecially very kind and courteous unto ſuch Engliſh as came thither for ſhelter: the other, becauſe thoſe that were of ſlenderer fortunes might have employment in the printing-houſes there, the printers in Baſil in this age having the reputation of exceeding all others of that art throughout Germany, for the exactneſs and elegancy of their printing. And they rather choſe Engliſhmen for the overſeers and correctors of their preſſes, being noted for the moſt careful and diligent of all others. Whereby many poor ſcholars made a ſhift to ſubſiſt in theſe hard times.

Divers of the exiles writers.

Indeed many of theſe exiles aſſiſted in promoting of learning and religion, by publiſhing to the world their own or other men's writings.

Scory.

John Scory, that had been Biſhop of Chicheſter, wrote a very comfortable epiſtle unto all the faithful that were in priſon, or in any other trouble for the defence of God's truth: printed in the year 1555. He was preacher to the Engliſh congregation at Embden, and ſtyled their Superintendent. From hence this, and many other good books were ſent into England, by certain perſons, to be diſperſed about in London, and other places. There was one Elizabeth Young that came thence with a book, called *Antichriſt*, and ſeveral others: who was taken up for bringing in prohibited and heretical books, and endured much trouble. There was alſo another, named Thomas Bryce, that brought books from Weſel into Kent and London; he was watched and dogged, but eſcaped ſeveral times. Sir John Baker, a Kentiſh man, and a great Papiſt, and a courtier, laid his ſpies to attack him.

Old.

John Old printed a book at Waterford, 1555, entitled, *The Acquittal, or Purgation of the moſt Catholic Chriſten Prince, Edward VI. againſt all ſuch as blaſphemouſly and*

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

traitorously infamed him, or the Church in his Reign, of Heresy or Sedition. The writing of this book was occasioned from the preachers of England in Queen Mary's time, in their sermons at St. Paul's Cross, and in other pulpits: "spewing out," as the book expresseth it, "with scolding, "roaring, and railing, the poison of Antichrist's traditions; "and infaming the order, form, and use of preaching, "prayers and administration of the holy sacraments, set "forth and exercised by common authority in the church "of England, reformed under the government of Edward
357 "VI. and vilely slandering of his father King Henry VIII. "for banishing the violent usurped power and supremacy "of the Romish ancient Antichrist for his brother's known "wife, and for taking justly upon him the title and estate of "supremacy, incident and appertaining, by the undoubted "ordinance of God, to his regal office and imperial crown."

Sampson. Thomas Sampson, formerly Dean of Chichester, wrote an epistle to the inhabitants of Alhallows, Bread-street, where, in King Edward's time, he had been incumbent.

Turner. William Turner, doctor of physic, and that had been physician in the Duke of Somerset's family, and after Dean of Wells, another exile, put forth a book, anno 1555, called *A new Book of Spiritual Physic for divers Diseases of the Nobility and Gentlemen of England:* dedicating it to divers of the chief nobility. It consisted of three parts. In the first, he shewed who were noble and gentlemen, and how many works and properties belong unto such, and wherein their office chiefly standeth. In the second part, he shewed great diseases were in the nobility and gentry, which letted them from doing their office. In the third part, he specified what the diseases were: as namely, the whole palsy, the dropsy, the Romish pox, and the leprosy: shewing afterward the remedies against these diseases. For, being a very facetious man, he delivered his reproofs and counsels under witty and pleasant discourse. He wrote also *The hunting of the Romish Fox.*

Juel. John Juel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, assisted Peter Martyr at Strasburgh in setting out his Commentaries upon the Book of Judges: who, being public reader of divinity there, had first read those Commentaries, and had many

learned Engliſhmen for his auditors; as Poynet, Grindal, Sands, Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cook, and divers other knights and gentlemen, as well as divines. And, when he was removed to Zurick to ſucceed Pelican, he took Juel with him thither. In Frankford there happening, as was ſaid before, unhappy contentions about ceremonies and matters of diſcipline, (and it was feared that theſe diſſenſions might ſpread themſelves into the other fraternities in Zurick and other places,) Juel's great buſineſs was to allay theſe animoſities, partly by letters, and partly by his own verbal exhortations: "that they ſhould, as brethren, "lay aſide ſtrife and emulation, eſpecially for ſuch ſmall "matters: that they would hereby offend the minds of all "good men: which things they ought to have a ſpecial "heed of." Some, who ſeemed more complaining and uneaſy at theſe things, he exhorted to patience, admoniſhing, "that we ought not to leap from the ſmoke into the "fire: and that we ought to bear a part in Chriſt's croſs, "and to conſider how much better it was with them than "with their poor brethren, that endured tortures in Eng-"land." And he would often repeat to them, "Bear "a while then; things will not endure an age." CHAP. XV. Anno 1554.

Becon. Thomas Becon, formerly a miniſter in Canterbury, and well known to the Archbiſhop, wrote an epiſtle in his exile, and ſent it to certain godly brethren in England: declaring in it the cauſes of all the miſeries and calamities that were fallen upon England: how they might be redreſſed; and what a merciful Lord our God is to all faithful penitent ſinners, that unfeignedly turn to him. This epiſtle was 358 brought into England, and read of the brethren in their religious meetings, not without fruit. In this epiſtle he added a ſupplication to God, at good length, "for the "reſtoring of his holy Word to the church of England: "wherein the devout chriſtian complaineth his grief and "ſorrow to his Lord for taking away the light of Chriſt's "Goſpel; and, humbly acknowledging his fault, and wor-"thy puniſhment, moſt heartily wiſheth the ſubverſion of "Antichriſt's kingdom, and the reſtitution of Chriſt's moſt "glorious kingdom in this realm." He wrote alſo an epiſtle to the maſſing prieſts, wherein he ſhewed what a

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

wicked idol the mafs was, and what a difference there was between the Lord's fupper and that: and what popes brought in every part of the mafs, and put them together, as it was then ufed.

Humfrey.

Laurence Humfrey, while he was in exile, wrote a book in Latin, intituled, *Optimates*, being inftructions for noblemen, in three books. It was printed at Bafil by Oporinus, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, foon after her entrance upon her kingdom. The reafon of this his difcourfe was out of an univerfal love to mankind, and defire to better the condition of the world, whofe welfare depended fo much upon the fobriety and virtue of thofe of noble rank and quality: "Since nobility, as he wrote, widely fpread "itfelf through all the regions and coafts of Chriftendom, "and was preferred to places of truft and honour in all "princes' courts, and was the very nerve and ftrength of "commonwealths: and fince from it iffued the greateft "helps or hinderances to the public fafety, pure religion, "the lives and manners of men: therefore he thought, "the gentry and nobility being imbued with right and "chriftian opinions, not formed to the corrupt rules of "antiquity, kings would govern better, the minifters of "eccleiaftical matters would more faithfully perform their "functions, and the common fort would more diligently "difcharge all neceffary offices, and the whole common-"weal might feem more healthfully to breathe, to live, and "to recover and perfift in a good conftitution." Befide this excellent book both for the matter and elegancy of the Latin ftyle, he printed two or three other things at Bafil; and he wrote, while he was abroad, a Commentary upon the Prophet Ifaiah. But I know not whether it were publifhed.

Traheron.

Bartholomew Traheron, library-keeper to King Edward, and Dean of Chichefter, made divers readings to the Englifh congregation upon the beginning of St. John's Gofpel; and after printed them, againft the wicked enterprifes of the new ftart-up Arians in England.

Fox.

John Fox, famous to pofterity for his immenfe labours in his Acts and Monuments, was received by the accurate and learned printer Oporinus of Bafil, for the corrector of his prefs. He publifhed (and which, I think, was the firft thing

he publiſhed, and his firſt-fruits) a Chronological Hiſtory of the Church. The firſt part, from the firſt times unto Martin Luther. This book he preſented unto Oporinus, with an handſome epiſtle: wherein "he deſired to be received by "him into his ſervice, and that he would vouchſafe to be "his learned patron, under whom he might follow his ſu- "dies, being one that would be content with a ſmall ſalary: "promiſing him, that, if he would employ him either there, "at Baſil, or at Argentine, or ſome univerſity, (which he "ſhould rather chooſe,) *Aut me* (ſaid he) *deſtituent omnia, "aut efficiam, Chriſto opitulante, ut omnes politioris litera- "turæ homines intelligant, quantum Operiano et nomini et "officinæ debeant.*" CHAP. XV. Anno 1554. 359

His Acts and Monuments.

While he was here employed by Oporinus, at ſpare hours he began his Hiſtory of the Acts of the Church, in Latin: which he drew out more briefly at firſt; and, before his return home into England, well near finiſhed. Having here completed the copy, which was but the firſt part of what he intended, but making a juſt volume in folio, he ſent this work to Baſil to be printed: and ſo it was in the year 155--. It remained many years after in thoſe parts in great requeſt, and was read by foreign nations; although hardly known at all by our own. Being now in peace and ſafety at home, Fox reviewed this his work, and, in the year 1566, firſt publiſhed it in Engliſh very voluminous, becauſe of thoſe many relations of the perſecutions in Queen Mary's days, that came to his hands. All this work he did himſelf, without the help of any amanuenſis, nor had he any ſervant to do his neceſſary domeſtic buſineſs; being fain to be often diverted by his own private occaſions from his work. He afterwards enlarged theſe his labours into three large volumes, which have ſince undergone many editions.

Books by him publiſhed in exile.

But to look back to what he publiſhed in his exile: there came to his hand all the trials and examinations of the learned martyr Joh. Philpot, Archdeacon of Wincheſter, drawn up by himſelf; and, finally, his death, being burnt in Smithfield, 1555. Theſe things Fox put into Latin, (as he had an excellent Latin ſtyle,) and printed with this title; *Mira ac elegans cum primis Hiſtoria, vel Tragœdia potius, de tota ratione examinationis et condemnationis J. Philpotti Ar-*

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

chidiaconi Wincestriæ, nuper in Anglia exusti: Ab autore primum lingua sua congesta; nunc in Latinum versa, Interprete J. F. A. He had also a great hand in publishing of Zonaras and Balsamon upon the Apostles' Canons in Latin: to which he set this title; *Enarrationes, seu Commentarii in Canones Sanctorum Apostolorum et Synodorum, tum quæ Universales, tum quæ Provinciales: Quæque item et privatim quorundam priscorum Patrum propriæ extiterunt. Autoribus Jo. Zonara Monacho religiosæ et Sanctæ Glyceriæ: Qui prius Drungarius, seu Præfectus erat Biglæ, et summus Secretarius. Atque etiam Theodoro Balsamensi; qui prius ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Diaconus, Librarius seu custos chartarum, et Præpositus Blachernensium, deinde et Archiepiscopus esi factus ejusdem Ecclesiæ simul et totius Orientis.* Which probably was a book printed at Oporinus's press, over which he had care; and made this title, and perhaps translated it into Latin.

Translates Cranmer's book of the Sacrament into Latin.

Here at Basil Fox was set on work by Peter Martyr to translate into Latin Archbishop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament: that is, his large dispute with Winchester. Which Fox fell upon, while Cranmer was yet in prison. *In quo* [*libro*] *videbit Spero,* (saith he, in a letter to Oporinus,) *propediem universa Germania, quicquid de causa Eucharistica vel dici vel objici, vel excogitari a quoquam poterit.* But this never saw the light, the manuscript thereof yet lying in my hands. In 1557, Fox set forth a little book, pleading the
360 cause of the afflicted with their persecutors, and comforting the afflicted. Of which Thomas Lever, who was preacher to the English congregation at Arrow, gave this character, in a letter which he sent to Fox, who had presented him with this book:

Letter to Fox.

"SALUTEM P. in Christo, Charissime Frater; Literas
"tuas accepi, et libellum parvum, in quo magna cum eruditione, et pientissimo zelo, causam afflictorum apud perse-
"cutores tyrannos sic agis, ut omnes, qui curant aut impios
"admonendos, aut pios consolatione recreandos, id plene a
Foxii MSS. "te perfectum videant. Quod ipsi bene curatum velint. Et
"quoniam meæ vocationis munus in hujusmodi admoni-
"tionibus et consolationibus versatur plurimum, scias velim,
"quod misso ad me parvo libello, magnum dedisti mihi be-

" neficium. Dignum igitur, nihil habens, quod tibi pro me- CHAP. XV.
" ritis rependam, exiguum aureolum mitto, rogoque acci- Anno 1556.
" pias, ut certum indicium mei animi erga te tuaque ſtudia;
" quibus alendis augendiſque tantum nunc polliceor, quan-
" tum unquam potuero, præſtare. Vale in Chriſto, et mihi
" ſaluta Uxorem tuam atque omnem Familiam: Rogoque
" ut mei, meique miniſterii memores ſitis in precibus veſtris
" apud Deum. Iterum vale, vivens in Domino. Aroviæ,
" 7. Novemb. 1557.

" Tuus fideliter in Chriſto, Th. Leverus."

Fox alſo wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the lords ſpiritual and temporal of England, to deſiſt thoſe barbarities that were then uſed towards innocent men in England: killing, burning, impriſoning, ſequeſtering them without all mercy. The letter, ſo pathetically penned, deſerves a place in the Appendix, for the preſervation thereof. Num. LXXXV.

To all theſe Engliſh writers, during their exile, muſt John Bale the antiquarian be added; who now publiſhed and printed in Baſil his admirable book of Centuries, giving an account of the lives and writings of all ſuch as were born, Engliſh and Scotiſh. Bale.

John Knokys, or Knox, another fugitive, is the laſt I ſhall mention, fearing I have been too large in this digreſſion already. He was a Scotchman, but had lived in England, in King Edward's days, with great reſpect; and very zealouſly preached the Goſpel in London, Buckinghamſhire, Newcaſtle, Berwick, and other places of the north and ſouth parts. He wrote now an epiſtle to the faithful in thoſe places, and to all others in the realm of England. " Where- Knox.
" in he earneſtly diſſuaded them from communicating in the
" idolatry then eſtabliſhed; and to flee, as well in body as
" ſpirit, having ſociety with the idolaters: and that as they
" would avoid God's vengeance: as the burning of cities,
" laying the land waſte, enemies dwelling in the ſtrong
" holds, wives and daughters defiled; and children falling
" by the ſword. Which he aſſured them would happen to
" the nation, becauſe of its return to idolatry, and refuſing
" of God's mercy, when he ſo long had called upon them.
" This his affirmation, he ſaid, would diſpleaſe many, and

BOOK III. Anno 1554. 361

" content few. But, to confirm them in the belief of what " he had ſaid, he bad them recollect what he had formerly " ſpoke in their preſence, and in the preſence of others: a " great part whereof was then come to paſs. He mentioned " particularly what he ſaid at Newcaſtle and Berwick, be- " fore the ſweating ſickneſs, and what at Newcaſtle, upon " All-Saints day, the year in which the Duke of Somerſet " was laſt apprehended: and what he ſaid before the Duke " of Northumberland in the ſame town, and other places " more. Alſo what he ſaid before the King at Windſor, " Hampton Court, and Weſtminſter; and what he ſaid " in London, in more places than one, when both fires and " riotous banquetings were made for the proclaiming " of Queen Mary. He foretold theſe preſent calamities; " not that he delighted in them, as he ſaid, or in the " plagues that ſhould befal this unthankful nation. No, his " heart mourned: but if he ſhould ceaſe, he ſhould then do " againſt his conſcience and knowledge. Then he pro- " ceeded to give them the ground of this his certitude: " which he took from the Scriptures. And ſo, in concluſion, " he counſelled them, as they would avoid the deſtruction " that was coming, that they ſhould have nothing to do " with the abominable idol of the maſs; that is, the ſeal of " that league which the Devil had made with all the peſti- " lent ſons of Antichriſt, as he phraſed it."

Fox's MSS.

How the exiles ſubſiſted.

It may be inquired, how theſe exiles were maintained, conſidering the great numbers of them, and the poverty of many. God ſtirred up the bowels of the abler ſort, both in England, and in the parts where they ſojourned, to pity and relieve them, by very liberal contributions conveyed unto them from time to time. From London eſpecially came often very large allowances: till Biſhop Gardiner, who had his ſpies every where, got knowledge of it; and, by caſting the benefactors into priſon, and finding means to impoveriſh them, that channel of charity was in a great meaſure ſtopped. After this, the ſenators of Zurick, at the motion of Bullinger their ſuperintendent, opened their treaſures unto them. Beſides, the great ornaments then of religion and learning, Melanćthon, Calvin, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Geſner, and others, ſent them daily moſt comfortable letters,

and omitted no duty of love and humanity to them all the time of their baniſhment. Some of the princes, and perſons of wealth and eſtate, ſent alſo their benevolences: among theſe was Chriſtopher Duke of Wirtemberg; who gave at one time to the exiled Engliſh at Straſburgh three or four hundred dollars, beſides what he gave at Frankford: as Grindal, Biſhop of London, ſignified to Secretary Cecyl, in the year 1563, when that Prince had ſent a gentleman upon buſineſs to the Queen. The Biſhop deſired the Secretary to move the Queen to make ſome ſignification to this perſon, that ſhe had heard of his maſter's former kindneſs to the poor Engliſh, that it might appear his liberality was not altogether buried in oblivion: or at leaſt he wiſhed ſome remembrance thereof might paſs from the Secretary's own mouth. CHAP. XV. Anno 1554.

CHAP. XVI. 362

Many recant. Some go to Maſs.

MANY of the clergy, that were very forward men under King Edward, now, by the terror of the times, recanted and ſubſcribed. And theſe were of two ſorts. Some out of weakneſs did it, but perſiſted not in it: but, as ſoon as they could, revoked their ſubſcriptions and recantations, and, after their releaſes and eſcapes out of priſon, made a ſorrowful confeſſion in public of their falls. Of this ſort were Scory and Barlow, biſhops; Jewel, and others. But ſome, after their recantations, perſiſted in the popiſh communion. Of this ſort was Buſh and Bird, biſhops; Harding, Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, to whom the Lady Jane ſent an expoſtulatory letter; Sydal and Curtop of Oxon; Pendleton, Weſt, &c. Of this laſt-named perſon let me caſt in here one or two remarks. Weſt was in orders, and had been ſteward to Biſhop Ridley: of whom the ſaid Biſhop wrote thus to Grindal, then in Straſburg; "That his old compa- "nion, and ſometime his officer, relented, but that the Lord Many recant.

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

"had ſhortened his days." For it was but a little after his compliance that he died. Fox writes the occaſion of it, namely, "that when he had relented, and ſaid maſs againſt "his conſcience, he ſhortly after pined away, and died for "ſorrow." When his maſter the Biſhop was laid in priſon for religion, he ſhrank away: and, out of his compaſſion to him, being very loth, as it appeared, that his ſaid maſter ſhould be put to death, he wrote a letter to him, whereby to move him, if he could, to alter his judgment. The contents of whoſe letter may be gathered out of Ridley's anſwer. Which anſwer being ſo excellent, I have put into the Appendix, as I tranſcribed it out of a manuſcript. Which concluded thus, in anſwer to a ſentence that Weſt had concluded his with; namely, "that he muſt agree, or die: the "Biſhop told him, in the word of the Lord, that if he and "all the reſt of his friends did not confeſs and maintain to "their power and knowledge what was grounded upon "God's Word, but, either for fear or gain, ſhrank and "played the apoſtates, they themſelves ſhould die the "death." After the receipt of which anſwer, Weſt, either out of compaſſion to his maſter, or rather out of anguiſh for his own prevarication, died within a few days himſelf: and his maſter outlived him, and writ the news thereof into Germany to Grindal, his fellow-chaplain, as was ſaid before.

Num. LXXXVI.

The perſecution hot.

The perſecution was carried on againſt the Goſpellers with much fierceneſs by thoſe of the Roman perſuaſion, who were generally exceeding hot as well as ignorant: chiefly headed by two moſt cruel-natured men, Biſhop Gardiner, and Biſhop Boner; in whoſe dioceſes were London and Southwark, and the next bordering counties, wherein were the greateſt numbers of profeſſors. And the ſervants were of the ſame temper with their maſters. One of Boner's ſervants ſwore, "by his Maker's blood, that whereſoever he met "with any of theſe vile hereticks, he would thruſt an arrow "into him."

Tims letter.

363 Goſpellers go to maſs.

Many now therefore, partly out of fear and terror, and partly out of other worldly conſiderations, did reſort to maſs, though they approved not of it, and yet conformed likewiſe with the Goſpellers: holding it not unlawful ſo to

do: *viz.* "That their bodies might be there, ſo long as their "ſpirits did not conſent." And thoſe that uſed this practice bore out themſelves by certain arguments, which they ſcattered abroad.

Bradford labours to hinder it.

This extraordinarily troubled the good divines, that were then in priſon for the cauſe of Chriſt, and particularly Bradford: who complained in a letter to a friend, "That not "the tenth perſon abode in God's ways: and that the more "did part ſtakes with the Papiſt and Proteſtant. So that "they became mangy mongrels, to the infecting of all the "company with them, to their no ſmall peril. For they "pretended Popery outwardly, going to maſs with the Pa-"piſts, and tarrying with them perſonally at their anti-"chriſtian and idolatrous ſervice: but with their hearts, "they ſaid, and with their ſpirits they ſerved the Lord. "And ſo by this means, (ſaid he,) as they ſaved their pigs, "I mean, their worldly pleaſures, which they would not "leeſe, ſo they would pleaſe the Proteſtants, and be counted "with them for Goſpellers." This whole letter deſerveth to be tranſcribed, as I meet with it in one of the Foxian manuſcripts, but that I find it printed already at Oxon by Dr. Ironſide, in the year 1688.

Counſels not to conſort with them.

The fame Bradford counſelled the true Proteſtants not to conſort with theſe compliers, but to deal with them "as a "certain eminent man, named Simeon, Archbiſhop of Se-"leucia, did with Uſtazades, an ancient courtier to Sapores, "King of Perſia; who by his threatenings and perſuaſions "had prevailed with the ſaid courtier, a chriſtian, to bow "his knee to the Sun. For which baſe compliance Si-"meon, paſſing by where this Uſtazades was, formerly his "great friend and acquaintance, would not now look at "him, but ſeemed to contemn and deſpiſe him. Which "when he perceived, it pierced him ſo to the heart, that he "began to pull aſunder his clothes, and to rend his gar-"ments, and with weeping eyes cried out, Alas! that ever "he had ſo offended God in his body, to bow to the Sun: "for (ſaith he) I have herein denied God, although I did "it againſt my will. And how ſore is God diſpleaſed with "me, with whom mine old father and friend Simeon, his "dear ſervant, will not ſpeak nor look towards me? I may

Tripart. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 2.

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

"by the ſervant's countenance perceive the Maſter's mind. "This lamentation came to the King's ear; and therefore "he was ſent for, and demanded the cauſe of his mourning. "He out of hand told him the cauſe to be, his unwilling "bowing to the Sun. By it (ſaid he) I have denied God: "and therefore, becauſe he will deny them that deny him, "I have no little cauſe to complain and mourn. Wo unto "me, for I have played the traitor to Chriſt, and alſo diſ- "ſembled with my liege Lord. No death therefore is ſuf- "ficient for the leaſt of my faults; and I am worthy of two "deaths. When the King heard this, it went to his ſto- "mach; for he loved Uſtazades, who had been to him, and "to his father, a faithful ſervant and officer. Howbeit the 36-1 "malice of Satan moved him to cauſe this man to be put to "death. Yet in this point he ſeemed to gratify him. For "Uſtazades deſired that the cauſe of his death might be "publiſhed. This I aſk (ſaid he) for the guerdon of my "time-ſervice to thee, and to thy father. Which the King "readily granted, thinking that, when the chriſtians ſhould "all know it, it would make them the more afraid, and "ſooner to conſent to him. But, ſo ſoon as it was publiſhed, "and Uſtazades put to death, Lord, how it comforted not "only Simeon, then being in priſon, but alſo all the chriſ- "tians!" Bradford, having told this hiſtory, improved it after this tenor. "This hiſtory I wiſh (ſaid he) were "marked, as well of us as of all our popiſh Goſpellers, "which have none other things to excuſe them than Uſta- "zades had: for his heart was with God, howſoever he "framed his body. We ſhould behave ourſelves ſtraitly "againſt ſuch brethren, as Simeon did; and then they the "ſooner would play Uſtazades' part. Which thing, no "marvel, though they do not, ſo long as we rock them "aſleep, by regarding them and their companions, as daily "we do; and ſo are partakers of their evil; and at the "length ſhall feel of their ſmart and puniſhment."

Ann Hartipol goes to maſs.

Of theſe outward compliers with the maſs was one Ann Hartipol, that formerly harboured the Lady Ann Aſcue, burnt in King Henry's reign. She now went to maſs, pretending her conſcience to be ſound before God, and that her conſcience gave her leave to go. To whom Philpot

wrote an excellent letter, which is extant among the Letters of the Martyrs. CHAP. XVI.

The people of this practice had been tampering with the Lady Vane, a pious lady, and a great benefactor to the poor prisoners of Christ: insomuch that she propounded to Bradford three questions concerning the mass, being cases of conscience, what she were best to do, whether to go to it, or not? He told her in a letter, "that the questions would "never be well seen nor answered, until the thing whereof "they arose were well considered. That is, how great an "evil it was: that there was never thing upon the earth so "great, and so much an adversary to God's true service, to "Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice, and kingdom, "to the ministry of God's Word and sacrament, to the "church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness "of life; as that was whereof the questions arose. And "that therefore a christian man could not but so much the "more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem "to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same." Bradford also writ a little book on this argument, intituled, *The Hurt of the Mass*. This book he sent to his acquaintance, to stop their going to the popish service; and particularly to Mr. Shalcros, a friend of his in Lancashire; and recommended the reading of it to one Riddleston, that had defiled himself in this false service.

Anno 1554. Pag. 247.

The Lady Vane puts certain cases concerning the mass.

CHAP. XVII. 365

A bloody Time. The Queen's great Belly. A Convocation.

THE year 1555. was a bloody year, and many honest people, both of the clergy and laity, were burnt alive in all parts, because they believed not transubstantiation: insomuch that a tender heart cannot but shrink at the very remembrance thereof.

Anno 1555. Many burned.

And as if there were a kind of delight in this sort of cruel executions, instructions were sent abroad, in the beginning of the year, unto the justices of peace through all counties

Instructions to the justices.

BOOK III. Anno 1559.

in England, to inquire diligently in every parish for persons disaffected to the popish religion. And in each parish were some appointed to be secret informers against the rest. And, for the better discovery of such poor professors of the Gospel, that fled from place to place for their safety, the constables, and four or more of the catholick sort in every parish, were authorized to take examination of all such as might be suspected, how they lived, and where they were? And such as absented from the mass, and conformed not themselves to the church, were to be brought before the justices: who were to persuade them to conform; and, if they would not, to bind them to good abearing, or commit them to prison. The justices were also commanded, by another order soon after, to deliver such as leaned to erroneous and heretical opinions, and would not be reclaimed by the justices, to the ordinaries, to be by them travailed with; and, continuing obstinate, to have the laws executed upon them.

Orders sent into Norfolk against the professors.

May 27, these orders came from the King and Queen to the justices of Norfolk: which, as I extract from a manuscript, relating the orders sent into that county, were in these special articles.

"I. To divide themselves into several districtions.

"II. To assist such preachers as should be sent;" [for it was thought convenient to send abroad itinerary preachers, as was done in the last King's reign, who should by their doctrine endeavour to reduce the people to the old religion;] "and to use them reverently, and to be present at their sermons; and to travail soberly with such as abstained from coming to church, or, by any other open doings, should appear not persuaded to conform themselves: and to use others, that be wilful and perverse, more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good behaviour, or by imprisoning them, as the quality of the persons, and the circumstance of their doings, may deserve.

"III. To lay special wait for teachers of heresies, and procurers of secret meetings to that purpose. That they and their families shew good examples, and begin first to reform their servants, if any of them be faulty.

"IV. To apprehend spreaders of false and seditious rumours.

" V. To procure one or more in every parish, secretly in- " structed, to give information of the behaviour of the in- " habitants.

" VI. To charge the constable, and four or more catho- " lick inhabitants of every parish, to give account of idle va- " gabonds and suspected persons," [meaning by these the poor professors, or preachers of the Gospel, who crept about for their own safety, and had no settled habitation,] " and " the retainers of such persons. To observe hue and cry; " and to look after the watches in every parish. 366

" VII. To send an account of felons, &c. when any should " be apprehended.

" VIII. To meet every month, and confer about these " matters."

Whereupon the justices meeting together, it was resolved by them to obey every of the said orders: particularly concerning the fifth they resolved, that these secret informations should be given to the justices; and that the accused parties should be examined, without knowledge by whom they were accused. The effect thereof.

The Earl of Sussex lived in that county, and was one of chief trust there: for this Earl had command in Norfolk of Queen Mary's army, when she first laid her claim to the crown; and managed it with that prudence and conduct, that others were induced by his means to come in. This Earl received several informations against ministers and others; for it seems, notwithstanding all these severe usages, the popish mass had not yet so prevailed every where, but that, in divers places, there were some remainders of King Edward's reformation and service. Among the rest, the Curate of Old Bokenham, and divers in that parish, were complained of, because the ceremonies of the holy time of Easter were not observed there. And, it seems, the Bishop's officers themselves were not all so diligent as they should be. The Earl signified this information to Hopton the Bishop; who, being in his visitation soon after, sent for several of the parish, and made his inquiries, but found things in other sort than were represented to the Earl. And, being returned to his house at Norwich, informed him hereof, and desired the Earl to inform him further, if any thing were amiss, The Earl of Sussex receiveth information against some.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

even amongſt his own officers, and he would endeavour to reform them.

Popiſh ſpies ſet every where.

In theſe times, for the better taking up of all Goſpellers, there were certain ſpies and ſecret informers ſet every where, to give notice of any that came not to church, or that ſpake any thing againſt the ſuperſtitions. For London were, John Avales, Beard, and others: for Stepney, one Banbury, a ſhitter, a dicer, and a whoremonger. By which means none almoſt could be ſafe. Yet the profeſſors made ſome proviſion againſt this evil. There were ſome, that kept them company, who were honeſt men; by whom they often had ſecret intelligence what perſons Avales and Beard intended to take up. And ſo ſeveral, by ſhifting places and houſes, were preſerved. The knight-marſhal, Sir Thomas Holcroft, the under-marſhal, the knight-marſhal's ſecretary, were ſecret friends of the Proteſtants: and, when deſigns were laid to take any of them, ſome ſignification was often privately brought them, that ſearch would within ſome few hours be made for them; and therefore that they ſhould depart from their lodgings, and conceal themſelves. And when any good men were under their hands in priſon, they would take all occaſions to ſhew them kindneſs, as far as ſafely they might.

The Proteſtants frequently aſſemble.

367 But notwithſtanding theſe perſecutions, and that very few of the miniſters remained, being either burnt or fled; yet the Proteſtants in London had very frequently their aſſemblies. And ſometimes, for want of preachers of the clergy, laymen exerciſed. Among theſe I find one old Henry Daunce, a bricklayer of White-chappel, who uſed to preach the Goſpel in his garden every holy-day: where would be preſent ſometimes a thouſand people.

Confidently reported that a male heir to the crown was born.

The very beginning of May there was exceeding joy among the Papiſts for the birth of an heir-male to the crown: whereof the report was ſo confident every where, that, in the county of Norfolk, the Mayor of Norwich ſent word of it to the Earl of Suſſex; and the Biſhop had *Te Deum* ſung in the cathedral, and other places of the city. And all expreſſions of joy both in city and country were ſhewn. And ſo it was, no queſtion, in other parts of the nation. And, which is more ſtrange, ſo long did this bruit

hold, that, beſides the firſt intelligence thereof brought to Norwich, within a day or two after came two perſons more, avering the truth thereof. The Biſhop deſired the Earl, according as he heard, if he had any further knowledge, to impart it to him. The contents of all this may be read in the original letter, which is tranſcribed into the Appendix. CHAP. XVII. Anno 1555. Num. LXXXVII.

But the belief of the Queen's great belly went not over ſo. For then it was given out, that in June, about Whitſuntide, was the time that the Queen expected her delivery: and midwives, rockers, and nurſes were provided. And, juſt when that time came, another rumour was blown about in London, that the Queen was delivered of a child. And the bells were rung, bonfires and proceſſions made: and in moſt parts of the realm ſo it was. Nay, in Antwerp guns were ſhot off by the Engliſh ſhips, and the Lady Regent rewarded the mariners with an hundred piſtoles. The Queen's great belly.

But there happened now two things which make it ſeem as though all this were but deſign, to impoſe upon the belief of the world. The one was this: "There was a woman, "living near Alderſgate, delivered June the 11th, 1555, "being Whitſunday morning, of a man child. Unto whom "the Lord North and another Lord came, and deſired to "have her child from her, with very fair offers. As, that "her child ſhould be well provided for, and that ſhe ſhould "take no care for it, if ſhe would ſwear that ſhe never "knew nor had ſuch child. And, after this, other women "came to her: of whom one, they ſaid, ſhould have been "the rocker. But ſhe would in no caſe part with her child. "This very woman, before witneſs, made this declaration "unto Mr. Fox and others, about the year 1568, while he "was printing his book: but he leaves it to the liberty of "the reader to believe what he liſt." Add to this one other paſſage of a man within four miles of Berwick, who, ſpeaking of the bonfires for joy of the birth of a Prince, ſaid, "There was a joyful triumph, but at length all would "not prove worth a meſs of pottage." Like a deſign. Fox, p. 1450.

As the Queen's great belly gave theſe great diſappointments, ſo, while ſhe went with it, it gave her occaſion to be more ſevere againſt the poor Goſpellers, who were now daily burnt. For ſhe thought, and ſo ſhe ſaid, "ſhe could not be The Queen's zeal.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

"safely and happily delivered, nor that any thing could "succeed prosperously with her, unless all the hereticks in "prison were burnt *ad unum*, not sparing one." Which cruelty I do suppose her priests and confessors put into her head.

Pet. Martyr ad Pet. Alexand.

A convocation.

There was a convocation in November this year; wherein Cardinal Pole presided. The Queen gave him a licence under the great seal to hold a synod: wherein she ordered him to decree what canons he thought fit. So he composed a book, with a very specious title, *viz. Reformatio Angliæ, ex Decretis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis, &c.* which was printed: a manuscript copy whereof was in the famous library of Mr. Smith, of late years sold by auction. The decrees of this book, in number twelve, were agreed to in February. They are briefly set down by the Bishop of Sarum in his History. There was an article made in favour of non-residences; which I meet with in the Benet library: there is no date, but I strongly conjecture it is to be laid to this convocation. The Cardinal seemed not to favour non-residences; but the rich clergy and dignitaries were of another mind: wherefore they made this proposition;

Part ii. p. 324. Vol. intit. Synodalia.

Decretum perpetuæ residentiæ juxta canonum sanctiones optant pii; sed multa sunt, quæ hodie impediunt, quominus suum effectum juxta bonorum virorum vota consequatur. To which are subjoined reasons for this proposition, and remedies for this evil: which may be read in the Appendix.

Num. LXXXVIII.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ridley and Latimer burnt.

Some petition the Queen for Cranmer.

WE can declare little this year of the poor Archbishop, being now a prisoner at Oxford, and out of all place of action. The archbishoprick was sequestered into the hands of Cardinal Pole, and his palace at Lambeth appointed for the Cardinal's abode. In a petition, that some of these that were abroad had sent over to the Queen this year, to dissuade her from these persecutions that were now to

CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1555.

rigorouſly ſet on foot in England, they interceded for Cranmer, putting her in mind how he had once preſerved her, in her father's time, by his earneſt interceſſions with him for her. "So that," they ſaid, "ſhe had more reaſon "to believe he loved her, and would ſpeak the truth to her, "than ſhe had of all the reſt of the clergy." But, alas, this did little good.

He ſeeth Ridley and Latimer going to their burning.

In October, Ridley and Latimer were brought forth to their burning; and, paſſing by Cranmer's priſon, Ridley looked up to have ſeen him, and to have taken his farewell of him: but he was not then at the window, being engaged in diſpute with a Spaniſh friar. But he looked after them, and, devoutly falling upon his knees, prayed to God to ſtrengthen their faith and patience in that their laſt, but painful paſſage.

Latimer's character.

And here, for a farewell to theſe two reverend fathers, let us make a little halt, to take ſome view of them. Of Ridley ſufficient has been ſaid to acquaint us with the worthineſs of 369 that man. Of Latimer a word or two. His character is beſt taken from them who beſt knew him, and lived in his time. One of theſe thus ſpeaks of him, while he was yet alive, in the beginning of King Edward. "Latimer was "very famous, not only for the pureneſs of his life, which "had always been innocent and blameleſs, but for the "ſincerity and goodneſs of his evangelical doctrine: which, "ſince the beginning of his preaching, had in all points "been ſo conformable to the teaching of Chriſt, and of his "Apoſtles, that the very adverſaries of God's truth, with "all their menacing words, and cruel impriſonment, could "not withdraw him from it. But whatſoever he had once "preached, he valiantly defended the ſame before the "world, without fear of any mortal creature, although of "never ſo great power and high authority; withing and "minding rather to ſuffer, not only loſs of worldly poſſeſ- "ſions, but alſo of life, than that the glory of God, and the "truth of Chriſt's Goſpel, ſhould in any point be obſcured "or defaced through him. His life was not dear unto him, "ſo that he might fulfil his courſe with joy, and the office "that he received of the Lord Jeſus, to teſtify the Goſpel "of God's favour. His fame began to grow apace, while

Becon, in his Jewel of Joy.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

" he was at Cambridge, [which was ſome years before
" 1530,] doing abundance of good there among the ſtudents
" by his ſermons, which were many, by him preached both
" in Latin and Engliſh. The ſcholars flocked after him,
" and took great notice of his doctrine, and commending it
" ſometimes to letters, as moſt faithful treaſures of memory.
" Before them he did, by authorities out of God's word,
" and invincible arguments, beſides the allegation of the
" doctors, prove, that the holy Scriptures ought to be read
" in the Engliſh tongue of all chriſten people, whether they
" were prieſts or laymen: though many friars and others
" could not abide this doctrine, and would reſiſt him, and
" preach againſt him, notwithſtanding he, or rather God in
" him, got the victory. And it came to paſs according to
" his teaching; [when the reading of the Scripture was
" allowed by the royal authority.] Before the ſcholars alſo
" he inveighed againſt temple-works, good intents, blind
" zeal, ſuperſtitious devotion; as the painting of tabernacles,
" gilding of images, ſetting up of candles, running on
" pilgrimage, and ſuch other idle inventions of men; where-
" by the grace of God was obſcured, and his works of
" mercy the leſs regarded. He was alſo wont to rebuke
" the beneficed men, with the authority of God's word, for
" neglecting and not teaching their flock, and for being
" abſent from their cures, they themſelves being idle, and
" maſting themſelves like hogs of Epicurus, taking no
" thought, though their poor pariſhioners miſerably pined
" away, ſtarved, periſhed and died for hunger. He would
" condemn alſo, at theſe his Univerſity-ſermons, fooliſh,
" ungodly, and impoſſible vows; as the vow of chaſtity:
" wiſhing rather that liberty of marriage might be granted
" to them which had ſo vowed by the higher powers, than
" ſo to continue, through ſingle life, in all kind of abomi-
" nable uncleanneſs. O how vehement was he in rebuking
" all ſins; namely, idolatry, falſe and idle ſwearing, covetouſ-
370 " neſs, and whoredom! Again, how ſweet and pleaſant
" were his words in exhorting unto virtue! He ſpake
" nothing, but it left, as it were, certain pricks or ſtings in
" the hearts of the hearers, which moved them to conſent to
" his doctrine. None, except they were ſtiff-necked, and

" uncircumciſed in heart, went away from his ſermons, CHAP. XVIII.
" which were not led with a faithful repentance of their Anno 1555.
" former lives, affected with high deteſtation of ſin, and
" moved unto all godlineſs and virtue."

The writer of all this ſaid, "He knew certain men, " which, through the perſuaſion of their friends, went unto " his ſermons, ſwelling blown full, and puft up, like Eſop's " frogs, with envy and malice againſt him; but, when they " returned, his ſermon being done, and demanded how " they liked him and his doctrine, they anſwered, with the " Biſhops and Phariſees ſervants, *There was never man ſpake* " *like unto this man.* He would alſo ſpeak freely againſt buy- " ing and ſelling of beneſices; againſt promoting ſuch to the " livings of ſpiritual miniſters, which were unlearned and " ignorant in the law of God; againſt popiſh pardons; " againſt the repoſing our hope in our own works, or in " other men's merits. He was alſo a charitable man, when " he was at Cambridge, according to his ability, to poor " ſcholars, and other needy people: ſo conformable was his " life to his doctrine. Inſomuch that there was a common " ſaying in that Univerſity, *When Mr. Stafford read, and* " *Latimer preached, then was Cambridge bleſſed.*"

But to return to our Archbiſhop in his priſon: where he divided his melancholy time, partly in diſputings and diſ- courſes with learned men of the contrary perſuaſion, who laboured to bring him over, thinking thereby to obtain a great glory to their church; and partly in preparing an anſwer to Biſhop Gardiner, under the name of *Marcus Antonius*, in vindication of his own book concerning the Sacrament. And he finiſhed three parts in priſon: two whereof were loſt in Oxford, and one came into the hands of John Fox, as he tells us himſelf; which, he ſaid, was ready to be ſeen and ſet forth, as the Lord ſhould ſee good. Biſhop Ridley alſo in his confinement wrote marginal annotations on the ſide of Gardiner's ſaid book, with the lead of a window, for want of pen and ink. Great pity it is that theſe laſt ſtudies of the Archbiſhop are loſt: for even that part, which was once in Fox's cuſtody, is gone with his fellows, for aught that I can find among his papers. Cranmer's employment in priſon.

It was ſome time before this that there was a report

BOOK III. Anno 1555. Report of the Queen's death.

ſpread, that the Queen was dead. The rumour preſently extended itſelf over the ſeas: which occaſioned the death of one pious profeſſor of the Goſpel; namely, Bartlet Green, a lawyer. For Chriſtopher Goodman having writ to him, his former acquaintance in Oxford, to certify him of the truth thereof, he in a letter in anſwer wrote thus; "The "Queen is not yet dead." This and divers other letters, that were given to a bearer to carry beyond ſea to the exiles there, were intercepted; and, being read at the council, ſome would have it to amount to treaſon, as though there had been a plot carrying on againſt the Queen's life. But the law not making thoſe words treaſon, he, after long
371 lying in the Tower, was ſent by the council to Biſhop Boner. Who upon examination found him too firm to be moved from the doctrine of the Goſpel; and ſo condemned him to the fire.

CHAP. XIX.

The laſt Proceedings with Cranmer.

Proceedings againſt Cranmer.

AFTER Ridley and Latimer were diſpatched, and had ſealed their doctrine with their blood at Oxford, the ſaid courſe was reſolved to be taken with Cranmer, late Archbiſhop, but now the arch-heretick, as he was eſteemed by them. They had been all three condemned, and adjudged hereticks, by Dr. Weſton, in the univerſity of Oxford, after their diſputations. But that ſentence was void in law; becauſe the authority of the Pope was not yet received: therefore they were tried and judged upon new commiſſions. The commiſſion for judging the two former was from Pole the Cardinal, Lord Legate: wherein the commiſſioners conſtituted were, White, Biſhop of Lincoln; Brooks, Biſhop of Gloceſter; and Holiman, Biſhop of Briſtow. But there was a new commiſſion ſent from Rome for the conviction of Cranmer. Brooks, of Gloceſter, was the Pope's ſub-delegate under Cardinal Puteo, to whom the Pope had committed this proceſs; and Martin and Story, doctors of the civil law,

CHAP. XIX. Anno 1555.

were the Queen's commiſſioners: the former of which was now, or ſoon after, for his good ſervices, made one of the maſters in chancery, and was much employed in theſe trials of poor men. Notwithſtanding this man complied in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and took his oath againſt the Pope now a ſecond time. In this commiſſion from the Pope he decreed, in a formality of words, "that the Archbiſhop "ſhould have charity and juſtice ſhewed to him, and that he "ſhould have the laws in moſt ample manner to anſwer in "his behalf." He decreed alſo, "that the ſaid Archbiſhop "ſhould come before the Biſhop of Gloceſter, as high com-"miſſioner from his Holineſs, for the examination of ſuch "articles as ſhould be produced againſt him: and that "Martin and Story ſhould require, in the King and Queen's "name, the examination of him." In purſuance of this command from the Pope, and in obedience to the King and Queen, they came down to Oxon upon this commiſſion; and, September 12, (which was ſeven days before the condemnation of Latimer and Ridley,) ſat in St. Mary's church, accompanied with many other doctors, and ſuch-like; and, among the reſt, the Pope's collector. The Archbiſhop was brought forth out of priſon habited in a fair black gown, and his hood of doctor of divinity on both ſhoulders. Then ſome proctor ſaid aloud, "Thomas Archbiſhop of Canter-"bury, appear here, and make anſwer to that which ſhall "be laid to thy charge for blaſphemy, incontinency, and "hereſy." What due honour the Archbiſhop gave unto the Queen's commiſſioners, as repreſenting the ſupreme authority of the nation, and how he gave none to Brooks, the Pope's repreſentative, keeping on his cap; and the ſpeeches, that the ſaid Brooks and the other two made unto him, with the Archbiſhop's diſcreet and excellent anſwers, ſtill interpoſing his proteſtation againſt Brooks his authority; may be ſeen at large in Fox's Monuments. 372

Only it may not be amiſs here briefly to mention, (for the better underſtanding of the form of the proceſs,) that, after the Archbiſhop was cited, as before was ſaid, into the court, the Biſhop of Gloceſter firſt made an oration, directed unto the Archbiſhop at the opening of his commiſſion. Next, Dr. Martin made a ſhort ſpeech; and, being with Dr. Story

Martin acts as the Queen's proctor.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

appointed the King's and Queen's attorneys, he offered unto the ſaid Biſhop their proxy, ſealed with the broad-ſeal of England; and then preſenting himſelf to be proctor on their behalf. After that, he proceeded to exhibit certain articles againſt the Archbiſhop, containing adultery and perjury; (the one for being married, the other for breaking his oath to the Pope.) Alſo he exhibited books of hereſy, made partly by him, and partly by his authority publiſhed. And ſo produced him as a party principal to anſwer to his Lordſhip. After this, having leave given him, the Archbiſhop, beginning with the Lord's Prayer and Creed, made a long and learned apology for himſelf: which is preſerved to poſterity in the Acts and Monuments.

His greateſt trouble at this time.

By his diſcourſe before the commiſſioners it appeared, how little he was taken with the ſplendour of worldly things. For he profeſſed, "that the loſs of his promotions grieved "him not: he thanked God as heartily for that poor and "afflicted ſtate in which he then was, as ever he did for "the times of his proſperity. But that which ſtuck cloſeſt "to him, as he ſaid, and created him the greateſt ſorrow, "was, to think that all that pains and trouble, that had "been taken by King Henry and himſelf, for ſo many "years, to retrieve the ancient authority of the Kings of "England, and to vindicate the nation from a foreign "power, and from the baſeneſs and infinite inconveniences "of crouching to the Biſhops of Rome, ſhould now thus "eaſily be quite undone again. And therefore, he ſaid, "all his trouble at that time, and the greateſt that ever he "had in his life, was, to ſee the King and Queen's Majeſties, "by their proctors there, to become his accuſers, and that "in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. "For that, if he had tranſgreſſed the laws of the land, their "Majeſties had ſufficient authority and power, both from "God, and the ordinance of the realm, to puniſh him. "Whereunto he would be at all times content to ſubmit "himſelf."

Interrogatories put to him, with his anſwers.

At this time of his trial, ſeveral interrogatories were adminiſtered unto him, to make anſwer to: as, concerning his marriage; concerning his ſetting abroad hereſies, and making and publiſhing certain books of hereſy. To which he con-

CHAP. XIX. Anno 1555.

feſſed, that the Catechiſm, and the book of Articles, and the book againſt Biſhop Gardiner, were of his doing. Concerning ſubſcribing thoſe Articles, and his compelling perſons to ſubſcribe. Which he denied; but that he exhorted them that were willing to ſubſcribe, he acknowledged. Concerning his open maintaining his errors in Oxon: [whereas they brought him to the diſputation themſelves.] Concerning his being noted with the infamy of ſchiſm; and that he moved the King, and ſubjects of his realm, to recede 373
from the catholick church and ſee of Rome. Which he acknowledged: but that their departure, or receſs, had in it no matter of ſchiſm. Concerning his being twice ſworn to the Pope. And Dr. Martin then ſhewed a copy of his proteſtation againſt the Pope at his conſecration, under a public notary's hand. That he took upon him the ſee of Rome, in conſecrating biſhops and prieſts, without leave or licence from the ſaid ſee. To which he anſwered, that it was permitted to him by the public laws of the realm. Concerning his ſtanding out ſtill to ſubſcribe to the Pope's authority, when the whole nation had. This being done, a public notary entered his anſwers. Then the Biſhop of Gloceſter made another ſpeech, at breaking up of this meeting, and Dr. Story another, reflecting upon what Cranmer had ſaid; with reviling and taunts.

Witneſſes ſworn againſt him.

The laſt thing they did at this meeting was, to ſwear ſeveral perſons, who were the next day to declare what they knew, or could remember, againſt this reverend father. And theſe were, Dr. Marſhal, Dean of Chriſt's Church, a moſt furious and zelotical man; and who, to ſhew his ſpite againſt the reformation, had cauſed Peter Martyr's wife, who deceaſed while he was the King's profeſſor, to be taken out of her grave, and buried in his dunghill: Dr. Smith, public profeſſor, who had recanted moſt ſolemnly in King Edward's days, and to whom the Archbiſhop was a good friend, yet not long afterwards he wrote againſt his book, and was now ſworn a witneſs againſt him: Dr. Treſham, a Canon of Chriſt-Church, who was one of the diſputers againſt Cranmer, and had ſaid, in his popiſh zeal, "that there were ſix hundred "errors in his book of the Sacrament:" Dr. Crook; Mr. London, a relation, I ſuppoſe, of Dr. London, who came to

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

ſhame for his falſe accuſation of Cranmer and others in King Henry's reign; and now this man, it is like, was willing to be even with Cranmer, for his relation's ſake: Mr. Curtop, another Canon of Chriſt's Church, formerly a great hearer of Peter Martyr; Mr. Ward; Mr. Serles, the ſame, I ſuppoſe, who belonged to the church of Canterbury, and had been among the number of the conſpirators againſt him in King Henry's days. And theſe being ſworn, the Archbiſhop was allowed to make his exceptions againſt any of them: who reſolutely ſaid, "He would admit none of them all, being "perjured men; having ſworn againſt the Pope, and now "received and defended him: and that therefore they were "not in chriſtian religion." And ſo the good father was remitted back, for that time, to priſon again.

Cited to Rome.

I know not what the depoſitions of theſe witneſſes were, given in againſt him the next day: for Fox rehates nothing thereof, nor any other, as I know of. Doubtleſs they were ſome of the doctrines that he preached, or taught, or defended, in Canterbury formerly, or more lately in his diſputations in the ſchools, or in his diſcourſes in his priſon, or at Chriſt's Church, where he ſometimes was entertained. But to all that was objected againſt him he made his anſwers. And the laſt thing they of this commiſſion did was, to cite him to appear at Rome, within eighty days, to make there his anſwer in perſon: which, he ſaid, he would be
374 content to do, if the King and Queen would ſend him. And ſo he was again remanded back to durance, where he ſtill remained. And an account of what theſe commiſſioners had done was diſpatched to Rome forthwith: from whence the final ſentence was ſent in December next.

The Pope's letters againſt him.

Then Pope Paul ſent his letters executory unto the King and Queen, and to the Biſhops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him: and, in the end of thoſe fourſcore days, he was declared *contumax*, as wilfully abſtenting himſelf from Rome, when he was ſummoned to go, though he was detained in priſon; which might have been a lawful and juſt excuſe. But theſe matters muſt proceed in their form, whatſoever abſurdity or falſehood there were in them.

The proceſs againſt him at Rome.

By theſe letters executory, (which are in the firſt edition of Fox, but omitted in all the reſt,) we may collect how the

proceſs went againſt Cranmer at Rome, which I ſhall here briefly ſet down. Firſt, the King and Queen ſent their information to the Pope againſt Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury; *viz.* "That he had brought this noble realm from "the unity of the catholick church. That he was a perſon "guilty of hereſy, and many other grand crimes, and not "worthy to enjoy his biſhoprick, and moſt worthy greater "puniſhments; and they requeſted that proceſs might be "made againſt him." For the better inquiry into, and taking cognizance of the truth of theſe accuſations, the Pope gave a ſpecial commiſſion, ſigned with his hand, to James Puteo, Cardinal of St. Mary's, and afterwards of St. Simeon, to cite the ſaid Thomas before him, and all ſuch witneſſes as ſhould be needful, to come to a true knowledge of the Archbiſhop's crimes: and accordingly to give the Pope an account of all he ſhould find. This he was to do in his own perſon, or to conſtitute any dignified perſon, abiding in theſe parts, to do the ſame. So the ſaid Cardinal appointed Brookes Biſhop of Gloceſter, and ſome colleagues with him, to manage this commiſſion in his ſtead. This Brookes, having been Biſhop Gardiner's chaplain, was probably nominated and recommended by the ſaid Gardiner, as I do ſuppoſe he was the perſon that directed the whole managery of this proceſs againſt the Archbiſhop. And ſo Brookes, being now by this deputation the Pope's ſub-delegate, proceeded in this cauſe, as was ſaid before. In regard of the Archbiſhop's citation to Rome, to anſwer there, and make his perſonal appearance before the Pope, the letters executory ſay, *comparere non curaret*, as an aggravation of his crime, that "he took no care to appear;" (which was falſe;) and that therefore, as the ſaid letters ran, the King and Queen's proctors at Rome, named Peter Rouilius, and Anthony Maſſa de Galleſio, and Alexander Palentarius, the proctor of the Pope's treaſury, had ſued, that contumacy might be definitively pronounced againſt the ſaid Thomas Cranmer, being cited and not appearing. Therefore, "He, Pope Paul "IV. ſitting in the throne of juſtice, and having before his "eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth "the world in righteouſneſs, did make this definitive ſen-"tence, pronouncing and decreeing the ſaid Thomas Cran-

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

" mer to be found guilty of the crimes of herefy and other " exceffes, to be wholly unmindful of the health of his " foul, to go againft the rules and eccleſiaſtical doctrines of " the holy Fathers, and againſt the apoſtolical traditions of
375 " the Roman church and ſacred councils, and the rites of " the chriſtian religion hitherto uſed in the church; eſ- " pecially againſt the ſacrament of the body and blood of " our Lord, and holy orders; by thinking and teaching " otherwiſe than the holy mother church preacheth and " obſerveth; and by denying the primacy and authority of " the apoſtolick ſee; and againſt the proceſſions, which " every year, on Corpus Chriſti day, were wont to be cele- " brated by the Pope's predeceſſors." Mention alſo is made of his " bringing again in the herefy abjured by " Berengarius, of his believing the falſe and heretical doc- " trines of Wicklif and Luther, thoſe arch-hereticks: print- " ing of books of that nature, and publiſhing them, and " defending thoſe doctrines in public diſputations, and that " before his ſub-delegate, and perſiſting herein with ob- " ſtinacy. Therefore the Pope excommunicated him, and " deprived him of his archbiſhoprick, and all other places " and privileges whatſoever, and adjudged him to be de- " livered over to the ſecular court, and all his goods to be " confiſcate. And the Pope abſolved all perſons from any " oath of fidelity given to Cranmer, and impoſed perpetual " ſilence upon him. And moreover, upon the inſtance of " the above-ſaid proctors, commanded the Biſhops of Lon- " don and Ely to degrade him, and ſo to deliver him over " to the ſecular court. This bore date December 14."

The Pope's letters read.

In obedience to theſe letters from Rome, the two Biſhops, the Pope's delegates, came down to Oxford; and, ſitting in the choir of Chriſt's Church, before the high altar, the ſaid commiſſional letters were read: wherein it was ſpecified, " That all things were indifferently examined on both par- " ties, and counſel heard as well on the King's and Queen's " behalf, who were Cranmer's accuſers, as on the behalf of " Cranmer, ſo that he wanted nothing to his neceſſary de- " fence." Whereat the Archbiſhop could not but exclaim (while theſe things were reading) againſt ſuch manifeſt lies, " That, (as he ſaid,) when he was continually in priſon,

"and could never be ſuffered to have counſel or advocate at "home, he ſhould produce witneſs, and appoint his counſel "at Rome. God muſt needs puniſh (added he) this open "and ſhameleſs lying."

They degrade him.

But this command of degrading our Archbiſhop was preſently proceeded upon: Thomas Thirlby, Biſhop of Ely, his old friend, infinitely beforetime obliged by the Archbiſhop, ſhed many tears at the doing of it. So that Cranmer, moved at it, was fain to comfort him, and told him, he was well contented with it. So they appareled the Archbiſhop in all the garments and ornaments of an Archbiſhop; only in mockery every thing was of canvas, and old clouts. And the croſier was put into his hand. And then he was, piece by piece, ſtript of all again. When they began to take away his pall, he aſked them, "Which of them had a pall, to "take away his pall? They then anſwered, acknowledging "they were his inferiors, as biſhops; but, as they were the "Pope's delegates, they might take away his pall." While they were thus ſpoiling him of all his garments, he told them, "That it needed not; for that he had done with this "gear long ago." While this was doing, Boner made a triumphant ſpeech againſt the poor Archbiſhop. But when they came to take away his croſier, he held it faſt, and 376 would not deliver it: but pulled out an appeal out of his left ſleeve under his wriſt, and ſaid, "I appeal unto the "next general council; and herein I have comprehended "my cauſe, and the form of it, which I deſire may be ad- "mitted. And prayed divers times to the ſtanders by to "be witneſſes, naming them by their names." This appeal is preſerved in Fox, which is well worthy the reading.

He appeals.

He is ill dealt with in his proceſs.

The Archbiſhop was all along ill dealt with in divers reſpects in this his proceſs, which himſelf was well ſenſible of. One was, that he had deſired the court, that, conſidering he was upon his life, he might have the uſe of proctors, advocates, and lawyers. But they would allow him none. After the court, wherein Brooks was ſub-delegate, had done, they promiſed him that he ſhould ſee his anſwers to ſixteen articles, that they had laid againſt him; that he might correct, amend, and change them, where he thought good. And that promiſe they performed not. And ſo

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

entered his anſwers upon record, though his anſwer was not made upon oath, nor reſerved, nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium*. Which Cranmer made a proteſt of: but not to the Biſhop of Gloceſter, as judge, whom he would not own; but to the King's and Queen's proctors, Martin and Story. To them, for theſe reaſons, he wrote a letter, "that "he truſted they would deal ſincerely with him, without "fraud or craft, and uſe him as they would wiſh to be uſed "in the like caſe themſelves: bidding them remember, that "with what meaſure they mete, it ſhould be meaſured to "them again."

The reaſons of his appeal.

Therefore, to make himſelf ſome amends for all this foul dealing, his laſt refuge was an appeal: whereof he ſeriouſly bethought himſelf when, and in what manner, to make it. The cauſes for his reſolving upon it, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were, becauſe he remembered Luther once did ſo in ſuch a caſe; and that he might not ſeem raſhly to caſt away his own life; and becauſe he was bound by his oath never to receive the Pope's authority in this realm; and becauſe the commiſſioners had broken their promiſe with him, as above was ſaid; and becauſe he thought the Biſhop of Rome was not an indifferent judge in this cauſe, which was his own cauſe: for all the Archbiſhop's troubles came upon him for departing from him. He therefore wrote privately to a truſty friend, and learned in the law, then in the Univerſity, to inſtruct him in the order and form of an appeal: and whether he ſhould firſt appeal from the judge-delegate to the Pope, or elſe from that judge immediately to a general council. And ſo earneſtly entreated him to lay aſide all other ſtudies, and to take this in hand preſently, becauſe he was ſummoned to make his anſwer at Rome, the ſixteenth day of this month, that is, of February. There was one reaſon more moved him to appeal, which muſt not be omitted, namely, that he might gain time to finiſh his anſwer to Marcus Antonius. "He feared, after all, they "would not admit his appeal. But he did not much paſs, "and deſired God's will might be done: ſo that God "might be glorified by his life or death. He thought it "much better to die in Chriſt's quarrel, than to be ſhut in
377 "the priſon of the body, unleſs it were for the advancement

"of God's glory, and the profit of his brethren." This letter of the Archbiſhop, being writ with ſo much ſtrength and preſence of mind, and ſhewing ſo much prudence and wit, is happily preſerved in Fox's Monuments, where it may be read. CHAP. XIX. Anno 1555.

This appeal, when the Archbiſhop had produced and preferred to the Biſhop of Ely, he told him, "That they "could not admit of it, becauſe their commiſſion was to "proceed againſt him, *omni appellatione remota.*" Cranmer replied, "That this cauſe was not every private man's "cauſe, but that it was between the Pope and him im-"mediately, and none otherwiſe: and that no man ought "to be judge in his own cauſe. And therefore they did "him the more wrong." So at laſt Thirlby received it of him, and ſaid, if it might be admitted, it ſhould. He preſſeth his appeal.

And ſo, after this interruption, they proceeded to degrade him, taking off the reſt of his habits. And then put him on a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, threadbare, and a townſman's cap. And Boner told him, "He was no Lord any "more:" and ſo was ſent to priſon.

CHAP. XX.

Cranmer writes to the Queen.

AND now, having undergone theſe brunts with all this gravity, diſcretion, learning, and courage, he next reſolved to give the Queen a true and impartial account of theſe tranſactions, to prevent miſreports, and to juſtify himſelf in what he had ſaid and done. Two letters therefore he wrote to her, but thought not fit to entruſt them with the commiſſioners, ſince Weſton had ſerved him ſuch a trick in the like caſe before. In theſe letters he related the reaſon of his refuſing the Biſhop of Gloceſter for his judge, and of his appeal. For as he thought it his duty, at that juncture, to declare himſelf in that public manner againſt the Biſhop of Rome, ſo he reckoned he ought to declare himſelf alſo to the ſupreme magiſtrate. And therefore, before the Biſhop of Writes two letters to the Queen.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

Glocester, and the commissioners, he said, "That as he had "thus discharged his own conscience towards the world, so "he would also write his mind to her Grace touching this "matter."

The contents of the first.

He wrote to her, "That the twelfth day of that month "he was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after. "And that it could not but grieve the heart of a natural "subject to be accused by the King and Queen of his own "country, and before any outward judge: as if the King "and Queen were subjects within their own realm, and "were fain to complain and require justice at a stranger's "hand against their own subject, being already condemned "to death by their own laws. As though the King and "Queen could not have or do justice within their own "realm, against their own subjects; but they must seek it at "a stranger's hand, in a strange land."

Then he proceeded to shew her, why he refused the Pope's authority, when Brooks Bishop of Glocester came to try
378 him; namely, "because he was sworn never to consent that "the Bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority "or jurisdiction in the realm of England. Another reason "why he denied his authority, was, because his authority "repugned to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the "laws of the same. For the Pope saith, all manner of "power, both temporal and spiritual, is given unto him of "God: and that temporal power is given to Kings and "Emperors to use it under him. Whereas, contrary to this "claim, (said the Archbishop,) the imperial crown of this "realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under "him only, and is subject to none but God alone.

"Moreover, to the imperial laws of this realm all the "Kings in their coronations, and all justices, when they "receive their offices, are sworn, and all the whole realm "bound to defend them. But, contrary hereunto, the Pope "(he said) made void, and commanded to blot out of our "books, all laws and customs repugnant to his laws.

"Then he proceeded to shew, how contrary the laws of "the realm and the Pope's laws were. And therefore, that "the Kings of this realm had provided for their laws by "the *præmunire*. So that, if any man let the execution of

CHAP. XX. Anno 1555.

" the law, by any authority from the fee of Rome, he fell " into the *præmunire*. And, to meet with this, the popes " had provided for their law by curfing.

" He fuppofed that thefe things were not fully opened in " the parliament-houfe, when the Pope's authority was " received again: for, if they were, he could not believe " that the King and Queen, the nobles and commons, would " again receive a foreign authority, fo hurtful and pre- " judicial to the crown, and to the laws and ftate of this " realm. He rebuked the clergy, who were the main " movers of this at the parliament, for their own ends. " For they defired to have the Pope their chief head, to the " intent that they might have, as it were, a kingdom and " laws within themfelves, diftinct from the laws of the " crown; and live in this realm like lords and kings, " without damage or fear of any man. And then he " glanced at fome of the clergy, [probably meaning Thirl- " by, Hethe, Tonftal, &c.] that they held their peace for this " confideration, though they knew this well enough: who, " if they had done their duty to the crown and realm, " fhould have opened their mouths at this time, and fhewn " the peril and danger that might enfue to the crown " hereby.

" Another caufe he urged to the Queen, why he could " not allow the Pope's authority, was, becaufe he fubverted, " not only the laws of the nation, but the laws of God. " So that, whofoever be under his authority, he fuffered " them not to be under Chrift's religion purely. For proof " of which he gave thefe inftances. God's will and com- " mandment is, that, when the people be gathered together " to ferve God, the minifters fhould ufe fuch a language as " the people might underftand, and take profit thereby. " For God faid by the mouth of St. Paul, As a harp or " lute, if it give no certain found, that men may know what " is ftricken, who can dance after it? it is but in vain. " So it is in vain, profiteth nothing, if the prieft fpeak to 379 " the people in a language they know not. And whereas, " when he urged this to the commiffioners, they told him, " That that place refpected preaching only. He told the " Queen, That St. Paul's words meant it not only of

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

" preaching, for that he ſpake expreſsly of praying, ſinging, " and giving thanks, and of all other things, which the " prieſts ſay in the churches. And ſo (he ſaid) all inter- " preters, Greek and Latin, old and new, ſchool authors, " and others, that he had read, underſtood it: till about " thirty years paſt, Eckius, and others of his ſort, began to " invent this new expoſition. And ſo (he ſaid) all the beſt " learned divines, that met at Windſor 1549, for the re- " formation of the church, both of the new learning and " the old, agreed without controverſy, (not one oppoſing,) " that the ſervice of the church ought to be in the mother- " tongue; and that that place of St. Paul was ſo to be un- " derſtood.

" Again, Chriſt ordained the ſacrament to be received of " chriſtian people, under both forms of bread and wine, and " ſaid, *Drink ye all of this.* The Pope gives a clean con- " trary command, That no layman ſhall drink of the cup " of their ſalvation. So that, if he ſhould obey the Pope in " theſe things, he muſt needs diſobey his Saviour."

Again, " He inſtanced in the Pope's taking upon him to " give the temporal ſword to Kings and Princes, and to de- " poſe them from their imperial ſtates, if they were diſ- " obedient to him; and in commanding ſubjects to diſobey " their Princes: aſſoiling them as well from their obedience, " as their lawful oaths made unto them; directly contrary " to God's commandment, that commandeth all ſubjects to " obey their Kings, and their rulers under them.

" Then he ſpake of the ſuperiority the Pope claimed " above Kings and Emperors, and making himſelf univerſal " Biſhop. And how his flatterers told him he might diſ- " penſe againſt God's word, both againſt the Old and " New Teſtament: and that whatſoever he did, though he " drew innumerable people by heaps with himſelf to hell, " yet might no mortal man reprove him; becauſe he is the " judge of all men, and might be judged by no man. And " thus he ſat in the temple of God, as he were a God, " and named himſelf God, and diſpenſed againſt God. " If this were not (he ſaid) to play Antichriſt's part, he " knew not what Antichriſt was; that is, Chriſt's enemy and " adverſary. Now, (added he,) until the time that ſuch a

" perſon may be found, men might eaſily conjecture where CHAP. XX.
" to find Antichriſt. Anno 1555.

" He took God to record, that what he ſpake againſt the " power and authority of the Pope, he ſpake it not for any " malice he ought to the Pope's perſon, whom he knew " not; nor for fear of puniſhment, or to avoid the ſame; " thinking it rather an occaſion to aggravate, than to di- " miniſh the ſame: but for his moſt bounden duty to the " crown, liberty, laws, and cuſtoms of this realm of Eng- " land; and moſt eſpecially to diſcharge his conſcience in " uttering the truth to God's glory, caſting away all fear " by the comfort which he had in Chriſt, who ſaith, *Fear* " *not them that kill the body.*"

As touching the ſacrament, he ſaid, " That foraſmuch 380
" as the whole matter ſtood in the underſtanding thoſe " words of Chriſt, *This is my body; This is my blood:* he " told the commiſſioners, that Chriſt in thoſe words made " demonſtration of the bread and wine, and ſpake figu- " ratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood; " becauſe he ordained them to be ſacraments of his body " and blood. And he told them, he would be judged by " the old church which doctrine could be proved elder; " and that he would ſtand to. And that, foraſmuch as he " had urged in his book Greek and Latin authors, which " above a thouſand years continually taught as he did; " if they could bring forth but one old author that ſaid " in theſe two points as they ſaid, he offered ſix or ſeven " years ago, and offered ſo ſtill, that he would give place.

" Then he ſhewed her how fond and uncomfortable the " Papiſts' doctrine of the ſacrament is: for of one body of " Chriſt is made two bodies: one natural, having diſtance " of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect " body; and this body is in heaven. But the body of " Chriſt in the ſacrament, by their own doctrine, muſt " needs be a monſtrous body, having neither diſtance of " members, nor form, faſhion, or proportion of a man's " natural body. And ſuch a body is in the ſacrament, " teach they, as goes into the mouth with the form of " bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread " goes, nor tarrieth no longer than the form of bread is by

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

" natural heat digeſting: ſo that, when the form of bread is " digeſted, the body of Chriſt is gone. And what comfort " (ſaid he) can be herein to any chriſtian man, to receive " Chriſt's unſhapen body, and it to enter no further than " the ſtomach, and depart by and by as ſoon as the bread is " conſumed? It ſeemed to him a more ſound and com- " fortable doctrine, that Chriſt hath but one body, and " that hath form and faſhion of a man's true body: which " body ſpiritually entereth into the whole man, body and " ſoul. And though the ſacrament be conſumed, yet " whole Chriſt remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto " eternal life, if he continue in godlineſs, and never de- " parteth until the receiver forſaketh him.

" That if it could be ſhewed him, that the Pope's au- " thority be not prejudicial to the things before mentioned; " or that his doctrine of the ſacrament be erroneous, then " he would never ſtand perverſely in his own opinion, but " with all humility ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, not only to " kiſs his feet, but another part alſo.

" For all theſe reaſons he could not take the Biſhop of " Glouceſter for his judge, repreſenting, as he did, this Pope. " But another reaſon was, in reſpect of his own perſon, " being more than once perjured, having been divers times " ſworn never to conſent that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould " have any juriſdiction within this realm, but to take the " King and his ſucceſſors for ſupreme heads thereof. And " he was perjured again, in taking his biſhoprick both " of the Queen and the Pope, making to each of them a " ſolemn oath: which oaths be ſo contrary, that the one " muſt needs be perjury. And further, in ſwearing to the " Pope to maintain his laws, decrees, conſtitutions, and " ordinances, he declared himſelf an enemy to the im-
381 " perial crown, and to the laws of the realm: whereby " he ſhewed himſelf not worthy to ſit as a judge in this " realm." This was the ſum of this excellent letter of the Archbiſhop to the Queen.

The contents of his ſecond letter.

He wrote another to her ſoon after: wherein he plainly told her, " that, at her coronation, ſhe took an oath to the " Pope, to be obedient to him, to defend his perſon, to " maintain his authority, honour, laws, and privileges: and

"at the same time another oath to the kingdom, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. He prayed her to weigh both oaths, and see how they did agree; and then to do as her Grace's conscience should give her: for he was sure (he said) she would not willingly offend. He feared there were contradictions in her oaths, and that those that should have informed her Majesty thoroughly, did not their duties herein. He complained that he was now kept from company of learned men, from books, from counsel, and from pen and ink, saving to write to her Majesty at that time: and, as to his appearance at Rome, (he said,) if she would give him leave, he would appear there; and he trusted God would put in his mouth to defend his truth there, as well as here."

The Bailiff of Oxford carrieth his letters.

These letters of his one of the Bailiffs of Oxon carried up to the Queen. Something else he wrote to her, enclosed and sealed; which he required Martyn and Story to be delivered without delay, and not to be opened until it were delivered unto her own hands. These and other of his smart and learned letters, no question, made impression upon the Queen, or at least upon those that read them; for they were delivered by the Queen to no less a person than the holy father Cardinal Pole himself; who was advised to frame an answer to them.

Pole answereth them.

So he wrote to the Archbishop, in answer to one of them, a long letter, dated from St. James's, November 6, "wherein he pretended a great deal of compassion to his soul; which, he told him, was ready to be lost, as well as his body: and that the condemnation that was lately passed on him was so horrible to him to hear, that he testified to him before God, and upon the salvation of his soul, that he would rather choose to be the means of bringing him to repentance, than to receive the greatest benefit that could be given him under heaven in this world." Which the Cardinal might say, to take off the odium of the suspicion, as though he hastened Cranmer's death, that he might jump into his place. And so the Cardinal proceeded to attempt to convince him in the two great points of his letter; *viz.* concerning the authority of

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

the Pope, and concerning the ſacrament of the altar: eſpecially, becauſe Cranmer had ſaid in his letter, "that he "would not be perverſe, to ſtand wilfully in his own opi- "nion, if any could ſhew him by reaſon that his doctrines "were erroneous." But I refer the reader to the Appendix, if he be minded to read the Cardinal's letter; which I met with among Fox's manuſcripts. By comparing of this letter of Pole's with that of Cranmer's, any one may ſee a mighty difference: ſtrength, evidence, and conviction in the Archbiſhop's, who had truth on his ſide; but a flaſhineſs and debility in the Cardinal's, made up of poor ſhifts and weak arguings, and impertinent allegations of Scripture, and perſonal reflections, to help out a bad cauſe.

Num. LXXXIX.

382

Some account of the Cardinal's letter to Cranmer.

To mention ſome few of this ſort. He charged the Archbiſhop with covetouſneſs and ambition in affecting the archbiſhoprick: and then, by and by, not well remembering what he had ſaid before, in his heat againſt the good Archbiſhop, he gives a contrary reaſon thereof, namely, "That he might be in a capacity to reform the church ac- "cording to his mind; and that it was for the ſake "of that, that he took an oath to the Pope at his conſe- "cration, though he were fain to make a proteſtation "againſt the ſaid oath." He ſaid in this letter, "That the "Archbiſhop's fall into error was not as the fall of others "uſually were, by frailty or curioſity, but by deliberate "malice: and that the Archbiſhop, by his proteſtation that "he made before he took his oath to the Pope, brake "his oath, and was forſworn before he did ſwear." Which, methinks, is pretty ſtrange. And, concerning this proteſtation, he ſaid, "It was a privy proteſtation, and that he "had privy witneſſes of it:" whereas it was done in the moſt open and public manner that could be, two or three times over, before public notaries, and by them entered on record, on purpoſe that all might take notice of it. And whereas the Archbiſhop had ſaid, "That it was much more "probable that the bread and wine ſhould be a figure, "than the real body and blood." The Cardinal ſaid, "The more probable it was, the more falſe; becauſe the "great ſophiſter and father of lies deceived by probability

" of reaſon." The conſequence whereof one would think ſhould be, the more improbable any opinion in religion was, the more true. " But (he ſaid) the true doctrine was taught " another way. He repreſented the Archbiſhop as chal- " lenging them of the other ſide to bring any one ſingle " doctor of the church, that ever ſpake in favour of tranſub- " ſtantiation;" leaving out, " for a thouſand years next after " Chriſt," which the Archbiſhop expreſsly had ſaid. And, in fine, every where he triumphed over the Archbiſhop's " wilful " blindneſs and ignorance;" and told him, in much charity, " That he was under the vengeance of God, a member of " Satan, and damned." This, and a great deal more, may be ſeen in Pole's letter. CHAP. XX. Anno 1555.

To which I might have added another letter of the ſaid Cardinal to the ſame Archbiſhop, concerning the ſacrament, a little after the diſputation at Oxford, but that it would be too prolix, being a juſt treatiſe againſt Cranmer's book of that argument. This treatiſe bears this title: Another letter of the Cardinal to Cranmer.

REGINALDI POLI Cardinalis Legati Apoſtolici Epiſtola ad Thomam Cranmerum, qui Archiepiſcopalem ſedem Cantuarienſis Eccleſiæ tenens, novam de Sacramento Euchariſtiæ Doctrinam contra perpetuum Catholicæ Eccleſiæ conſenſum profeſſus eſt, ac tradidit. Qua Epiſtola eum nec Magiſtrum tanti Myſterii, neque Diſcipulum idoneum eſſe poſſe; ſimulque unde hic ejus Error manarit, oſtendit; et ad pœnitentiam hortatur.

CHAP. XXI. 383

He recants, repents, and is burnt.

HAVING brought the Archbiſhop unto his degradation and appeal, wherein he ſhewed ſo much chriſtian courage, wiſdom, and fortitude, I muſt now repreſent him making a great trip and a ſad fall; and mention one of the greateſt blemiſhes of his life. For now the popiſh party, thinking He recants.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

what a piece of glory it would be to gain this great man to their church, uſed all means, all arts, as well as arguments, to bring him to recant. They ſet the doctors of the Univerſity upon him. He was entertained at the Dean of Chriſt's Church his lodging: there they treated him with good fare. They got him to bowls with them. They let him have his pleaſure in taking the air. Sometimes they accoſted him with arguments and diſputations: ſometimes by flatteries, promiſes, and threatenings. They told him, "the "noblemen bare him good will: that his return would be "highly acceptable to the King and Queen. That he ſhould "enjoy his former dignity in the church; or, if it liked him "better, he ſhould lead a quiet life in more privacy: and "that it was but ſetting his name in two words in a piece "of paper. They told him, the Queen was reſolved to have "Cranmer a catholic, or no Cranmer at all. That he was "ſtill luſty and ſtrong, and might live many a year more, if "he would not willingly cut off his own life by the terrible "death of burning." He rejected theſe temptations a long while, but at laſt was overcome and yielded. The recantation I ſhall not repeat, it being to be ſeen at large in Fox. It was ſigned by his hand. The witneſſes thereunto were two or three, who had been exceedingly buſy in tampering with him: one Sydal, (a great profeſſor in the laſt reign,) and John and Richard, two Spaniſh friars.

Notwithſtanding his burning is ordered.

The doctors and prelates cauſed this recantation ſpeedily to be printed and diſperſed. When the Queen ſaw his ſubſcription, ſhe was glad of it, but would not alter her determination to have him burned, by the inſtigation, as I ſuppoſe, of Pole the legate: the writ for which was ſent down by Hethe, Lord Chancellor, in the latter end of February, under the broad-ſeal. It was charged upon his converters, that they were negligent in procuring his life from the Queen: but the true reaſon was, the Queen was reſolved not to grant it. She privately gave inſtruction to Cole to prepare a ſermon to preach at his burning: and ſeveral lords, and other juſtices of the peace in thoſe parts, were ordered to attend there, with their ſervants and retinue, to keep peace, and to ſee him executed. Cole coming with his errand to Oxon, viſited him in the priſon, and aſked him if he ſtood firm to

what he had ſubſcribed? This was the day before his execu- CHAP. XXI.
cution; but ſaying nothing to him of his determined death. Anno 1555.
The next day, being the day he was to be burned, *viz.* March 21, he came again, and aſked him if he had any money? And, having none, he gave him certain crowns to beſtow to what poor he would; and ſo departed, exhorting him to conſtancy. But the diſconſolate Archbiſhop perceived to what 384
this tended: and, being by and by to be brought to St. Mary's, (where Cole was to preach,) there openly to confeſs what he had more privately ſubſcribed, he reſolved with himſelf to diſburden his conſcience, and to revoke his recantation. And he prepared a prayer, and a declaration of his faith, which he drew up in writing, and carried it privately along with him, to make uſe of it when he ſaw his occaſion. The manner how he behaved himſelf after Cole's ſermon, and how he delivered his laſt mind, and with what bitterneſs and tears he did it; and how he was pulled down by the ſcholars, prieſts, and friars, with the greateſt indignation, at this their diſappointment; and how he was led out of the church forthwith to the place of burning, over-againſt Ballio! Colleg&; and how he there firſt put his right hand into the flames to be conſumed, for that baſe ſubſcription that it made; and how his heart was found whole and unconſumed in the aſhes, after he was burnt: theſe, and the reſt of the particulars of his martyrdom, I might leave to Fox, and other hiſtorians from him, to relate.

A letter from Oxford concerning Cranmer's death.

Yet, becauſe it is not convenient ſo briefly to paſs over ſuch a remarkable ſcene of his life, being his laſt appearance upon the ſtage of this world, I ſhall repreſent it in the words of a certain grave perſon unknown, but a Papiſt, who was an eye and ear witneſs, and related theſe matters, as it ſeems, very juſtly, in a letter from Oxon to his friend. Which is as followeth:

Inter Foxii MSS.

"But that I know for our great friendſhip, and long con-
"tinued love, you look even of duty that I ſhould ſignify to
"you of the truth of ſuch things as here chanceth among
"us; I would not at this time have written to you the un-
"fortunate end, and doubtful tragedy, of T. C. late Biſhop
"of Canterbury: becauſe I little pleaſure take in beholding

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

" of such heavy sights. And, when they are once overpassed,
" I like not to rehearse them again; being but a renewing
" of my wo, and doubling my grief. For although his
" former life, and wretched end, deserves a greater misery,
" (if any greater might have chanced than chanced unto
" him,) yet, setting aside his offences to God and his coun-
" try, and beholding the man without his faults, I think
" there was none that pitied not his case, and bewailed his
" fortune, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a
" prelate, so grave a counsellor, of so long continued ho-
" nour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be de-
" prived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a
" death to end his life. I have no delight to increase it.
" Alas, it is too much of itself, that ever so heavy a case
" should betide to man, and man to deserve it.

Cranmer brought to St. Mary's.

" But to come to the matter: on Saturday last, being the
" 21st of March, was his day appointed to die. And, because
" the morning was much rainy, the sermon appointed by
" Mr. Dr. Cole to be made at the stake, was made in St.
" Mary's church: whither Dr. Cranmer was brought by
" the Mayor and Aldermen, and my Lord Williams. With
" whom came divers gentlemen of the shire, Sir T. A.
" Bridges, Sir John Browne, and others. Where was pre-
385 " pared, over-against the pulpit, an high place for him, that
" all the people might see him. And, when he had ascended
" it, he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly: which
" moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an as-
" sured hope of his conversion and repentance.

Cole's sermon.

" Then Mr. Cole began his sermon. The sum whereof
" was this. First, he declared causes why it was expedient
" that he should suffer, notwithstanding his reconciliation.
" The chief are these. One was, for that he had been a
" great cause of all this alteration in this realm of England.
" And, when the matter of the divorce between King
" Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine was commenced in
" the court of Rome, he, having nothing to do with it, set
" upon it as judge, which was the entry to all the inconve-
" niences that followed. Yet in that he excused him, that
" he thought he did it not of malice, but by the persuasions
" and advice of certain learned men. Another was, that he had

" been the great fetter forth of all this herefy received into " the church in this laft time; had written in it, had dif- " puted, had continued it, even to the laft hour: and that it " had never been feen in this realm (but in the time of " fchifm) that any man continuing fo long hath been par- " doned: and that it was not to be remitted for enfamples- " fake. Other caufes he alleged, but thefe were the chief, " why it was not thought good to pardon him. Other " caufes befide, he faid, moved the Queen and the council " thereto, which were not meet and convenient for every " one to underftand them. CHAP. XXI. Anno 1555.

" The fecond part touched the audience, how they fhould " confider this thing: that they fhould hereby take example " to fear God; and that there was no power againft the " Lord: having before their eyes a man of fo high degree, " fometime one of the chiefeft Prelates of the church, an " Archbifhop, the chief of the council, the fecond peer in " the realm of long time: a man, as might be thought, in " greateft aflurance, a King of his fide; notwithftanding all " his authority and defence to be debafed from an high " eftate to a low degree; of a counfellor to be a caitiff; and " to be fet in fo wretched eftate, that the pooreft wretch " would not change conditions with him.

" The laft and end appertained unto him: whom he " comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by " many places of Scripture. And with thefe, and fuch, " bidding him nothing miftruft but he fhould incontinently " receive that the thief did: to whom Chrift faid, *Hodie me- " cum eris in paradifo.* And out of St. Paul armed him " againft the terrors of the fire, by this; *Dominus fidelis eft: " Non finet nos tentari ultra quam ferre poteftis:* by the ex- " ample of the three children; to whom God made the " flame feem like a pleafant dew. He added hereunto the " rejoicing of St. Andrew in his crofs; the patience of St. " Laurence on the fire: afcertaining him, that God, if he " called on him, and to fuch as die in his faith, either will " abate the fury of the flame, or give him ftrength to abide " it. He glorified God much in his converfion; becaufe it " appeared to be only his work: declaring what travel and " conference had been ufed with him to convert him, and 386 Turns his fpeech to Cranmer.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

" all prevailed not, till it pleaſed God of his mercy to re-
" claim him, and call him home. In diſcourſing of which
" place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his
" former doing.

" And I had almoſt forgotten to tell you, that Mr. Cole
" promiſed him, that he ſhould be prayed for in every
" church in Oxford, and ſhould have maſs and *Dirige* ſung
" for him; and ſpake to all the prieſts preſent to ſay maſs
" for his ſoul.

After ſermon all pray for him.

" When he had ended his ſermon, he deſired all the peo-
" ple to pray for him: Mr. Cranmer kneeling down with
" them, and praying for himſelf. I think there was never
" ſuch a number ſo earneſtly praying together. For they,
" that hated him before, now loved him for his converſion,
" and hope of continuance. They that loved him before
" could not ſodenly hate him, having hope of his confeſſion
" again of his fall. So love and hope increaſed devotion on
" every ſide.

His penitent behaviour.

" I ſhall not need, for the time of ſermon, to deſcribe his
" behaviour, his ſorrowful countenance, his heavy cheer, his
" face bedewed with tears; ſometime lifting his eyes to
" heaven in hope, ſometime caſting them down to the earth
" for ſhame; to be brief, an image of ſorrow: the dolor of
" his heart burſting out at his eyes in plenty of tears: re-
" taining ever a quiet and grave behaviour. Which in-
" creaſed the pity in men's hearts, that they unfeignedly
" loved him, hoping it had been his repentance for his tranſ-
" greſſion and error. I ſhall not need, I ſay, to point it out
" unto you; you can much better imagine it yourſelf.

Speaks to the auditory.

" When praying was done, he ſtood up, and, having leave
" to ſpeak, ſaid, Good people, I had intended indeed to de-
" ſire you to pray for me; which becauſe Mr. Doctor hath
" deſired, and you have done already, I thank you moſt
" heartily for it. And now will I pray for myſelf, as I
" could beſt deviſe for mine own comfort, and ſay the
" prayer, word for word, as I have here written it. And he
" read it ſtanding: and after kneeled down, and ſaid the
" Lord's Prayer; and all the people on their knees devoutly
" praying with him. His prayer was thus:

CHAP. XXI. Anno 1555.

"O FATHER of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of "the world; O Holy Ghoſt, proceeding from them both, "three Perſons and one God, have mercy upon me moſt "wretched caitiff, and miſerable ſinner. I who have of- "fended both heaven and earth, and more grievouſly than "any tongue can expreſs, whither then may I go, or whi- "ther ſhould I fly for ſuccour? To heaven I may be "aſhamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find no re- "fuge. What ſhall I then do? ſhall I deſpair? God forbid. "O good God, thou art merciful, and refuſeſt none that "come unto thee for ſuccour. To thee therefore do I run. "To thee do I humble myſelf: ſaying, O Lord God, my "ſins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great "mercy. O God the Son, thou waſt not made man, this "great myſtery was not wrought, for few or ſmall offences. "Nor thou didſt not give thy Son unto death, O God the "Father, for our little and ſmall ſins only, but for all the "greateſt ſins of the world: ſo that the ſinner return unto "thee with a penitent heart; as I do here at this preſent. 387 "Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whoſe property "is always to have mercy. For although my ſins be "great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, "for mine own merits, but for thy name's ſake, that it may "be glorified thereby: and for thy dear ſon Jeſus Chriſt's "ſake. And now therefore, Our Father, which art in "heaven, &c.

He prayeth.

His words before his death.

"Then riſing, he ſaid, Every man deſireth, good people, "at the time of their deaths, to give ſome good exhorta- "tion, that other may remember after their deaths, and be "the better thereby. So I beſeech God grant me grace, "that I may ſpeak ſomething, at this my departing, where- "by God may be glorified, and you edified.

"Firſt, It is an heavy caſe to ſee, that many folks be ſo "much doted upon the love of this falſe world, and ſo care- "ful for it, that or the love of God, or the love of the "world to come, they ſeem to care very little or nothing "therefore. This ſhall be my firſt exhortation. That you "ſet not over-much by this falſe gloſing world, but upon "God and the world to come: and learn to know what

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

" this leſſon meaneth, which St. John teacheth, *That the love*
" *of this world is hatred againſt God.*

" The ſecond exhortation is, That, next unto God, you
" obey your King and Queen willingly and gladly, without
" murmur or grudging; and not for fear of them only, but
" much more for the fear of God: knowing that they be God's
" miniſters, appointed by God to rule and govern you. And
" therefore whoſo reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God's ordinance.

" The third exhortation is, That you love all together like
" brethren and ſiſtern. For, alas! pity it is to ſee what con-
" tention and hatred one chriſtian man hath to another:
" not taking each other as ſiſters and brothers; but rather
" as ſtrangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn
" and bear well away this one leſſon, To do good to all men
" as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more
" than you would hurt your own natural and loving brother
" or ſiſter. For this you may be ſure of, that whoſoever
" hateth any perſon, and goeth about maliciouſly to hinder
" or hurt him, ſurely, and without all doubt, God is not
" with that man, although he think himſelf never ſo much
" in God's favour.

" The fourth exhortation ſhall be to them that have great
" ſubſtance and riches of this world, That they will well
He quoted also a third place out of James against covetous rich men; *Weep and howl for the miſeries that ſhall come upon you; your riches doth rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and ſilver is cankered, &c.*
" conſider and weigh thoſe ſayings of the Scripture. One
" is of our Saviour Chriſt himſelf, who ſaith, *It is hard for a*
" *rich man to enter into heaven:* a ſore ſaying, and yet ſpoke
" by him that knew the truth. The ſecond is of St. John,
" whoſe ſaying is this, *He that hath the ſubſtance of this*
" *world, and ſeeth his brother in neceſſity, and ſhutteth up his*
" *mercy from him, how can he ſay, he loveth God?* Much
" more might I ſpeak of every part; but time ſufficeth not.
" I do but put you in remembrance of things. Let all them
" that be rich, ponder well thoſe ſentences: for if ever they
" had any occaſion to ſhew their charity, they have now at
" this preſent, the poor people being ſo many, and victuals
" ſo dear. For though I have been long in priſon, yet I
388 " have heard of the great penury of the poor. Conſider,
" that that which is given to the poor, is given to God:
" whom we have not otherwiſe preſent corporally with us,
" but in the poor.

CHAP. XXI. Anno 1555.

"And now, for so much as I am come to the last end of "my life, whereupon hangeth all my life passed, and my life "to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ in heaven, "in joy, or else to be in pain ever with wicked devils in "hell; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven "ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up; "I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I "believe, without colour or dissimulation: for now is no "time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past.

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of "heaven and earth, &c. and every article of the catho- "lick faith, every word and sentence taught by our Sa- "viour Christ, his Apostles, and Prophets, in the Old and "New Testament.

Confesseth his dissembling.

"And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my "conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or "did in my life: and that is, the setting abroad of writings "contrary to the truth. Which here now I renounce and "refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the "truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of "death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all "such bills, which I have written or signed with mine own "hand since my degradation: wherein I have written many "things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in "writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first "be punished: for if I may come to the fire, it shall be "first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's "enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

"And here, being admonished of his recantation and dis- "sembling, he said, Alas, my Lord, I have been a man "that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till "now against the truth; which I am most sorry for. He "added hereunto, that, for the sacrament, he believed as he "had taught in his book against the Bishop of Winchester. "And here he was suffered to speak no more.

His reply to my Lord Williams.

"So that his speech contained chiefly three points, love "to God, love to the King, and love to the neighbour. In "the which talk he held men very suspense, which all de- "pended upon the conclusion: where he so far deceived "all men's expectations, that, at the hearing thereof, they

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

"were much amazed; and let him go on awhile, till my "Lord Williams bad him play the chriſten man, and re- "member himſelf. To whom he anſwered, That he ſo did: "for now he ſpake truth.

Goes to the place of his burning.

"Then he was carried away; and a great number, that "did run to ſee him go ſo wickedly to his death, ran after "him, exhorting him, while time was, to remember him- "ſelf. And one Friar John, a godly and well-learned man, "all the way travelled with him to reduce him. But it 389 "would not be. What they ſaid in particular I cannot tell, "but the effect appeared in the end: for at the ſtake he "profeſſed, that he died in all ſuch opinions as he had "taught, and oft repented him of his recantation.

His talk and behaviour at the ſtake.

"Coming to the ſtake with a cheerful countenance and "willing mind, he put off his garments with haſte, and "ſtood upright in his ſhirt: and a bachelor of divinity, "named Elye, of Brazen-noſe College, laboured to convert "him to his former recantation, with the two Spaniſh friars. "But when the friars ſaw his conſtancy, they ſaid in Latin "one to another, *Let us go from him; we ought not to be "nigh him: for the Devil is with him.* But the bachelor "in divinity was more earneſt with him: unto whom he "anſwered, that, as concerning his recantation, he repented "it right ſore, becauſe he knew it was againſt the truth; "with other words more. Whereupon the Lord Williams "cried, Make ſhort, make ſhort. Then the Biſhop took "certain of his friends by the hand. But the bachelor of "divinity refuſed to take him by the hand, and blamed all "others that ſo did, and ſaid, he was ſorry that ever he "came in his company. And yet again he required him to "agree to his former recantation. And the Biſhop an- "ſwered, (ſhewing his hand,) This is the hand that wrote it, "and therefore ſhall it ſuffer firſt puniſhment.

He burneth his right hand.

"Fire being now put to him, he ſtretched out his right "hand, and thruſt it into the flame, and held it there a good "ſpace, before the fire came to any other part of his body; "where his hand was ſeen of every man ſenſibly burning, "crying with a loud voice, *This hand hath offended.* As "ſoon as the fire got up, he was very ſoon dead, never ſtir- "ring or crying all the while.

CHAP. XXI. Anno 1555.

" His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it " had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of " his country, or the teſtimony of truth, as it was for a " pernicious error, and ſubverſion of true religion, I could " worthily have commended the example, and matched it " with the fame of any father of ancient time: but, ſeeing " that not the death, but the cauſe and quarrel thereof, " commendeth the ſufferer, I cannot but much diſpraiſe his " obſtinate ſtubbornneſs and ſturdineſs in dying, and ſpe- " cially in ſo evil a cauſe. Surely his death much grieved " every man; but not after one ſort. Some pitied to ſee his " body ſo tormented with the fire raging upon the ſilly " carcaſs, that counted not of the folly. Other, that paſſed " not much of the body, lamented to ſee him ſpill his ſoul, " wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever. " His friends ſorrowed for love; his enemies for pity: " ſtrangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we " are bound one to another. Thus I have enforced myſelf, " for your ſake, to diſcourſe this heavy narration, contrary " to my mind: and, being more than half weary, I make a " ſhort end, wiſhing you a quieter life, with leſs honour; " and eaſier death, with more praiſe. The 23d of March.

" Yours, J. A."

All this is the teſtimony of an adverſary, and therefore we must allow for ſome of his words; but may be the more certain of the Archbiſhop's brave courage, conſtancy, patience, chriſtian and holy behaviour, being related by one ſo affected. 390

Two remarks upon his martyrdom.

In regard of this holy Prelate's life, taken away by martyrdom, I cannot but take notice here of two things, as though God had given him ſome intimation thereof long before it happened. The one is, that whereas his paternal coat of arms was three cranes, (alluding to his name,) King Henry appointed him to bear in the room thereof three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood. The like coat of arms, or much reſembling it, I find ſeveral of Queen Elizabeth's firſt biſhops took; whether to imitate Cranmer, or to ſignify their zeal to the Goſpel, and their readineſs to ſuffer for it, I do not determine. The other remark I make

BOOK III.

Anno 1555. Ep. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evan.

is, what his friend Andreas Oſiander, in an epiſtle to him in the year 1537, told him: which was, that he had *animum vel martyrio parem*; "a mind fit, or ready, for martyrdom." And ſo took occaſion to exhort him at large to bear the afflictions that were to attend him: as though God had inſpired that great German divine with a prophetick ſpirit, to acquaint this his faithful ſervant by what death he ſhould glorify God, and what ſufferings he muſt undergo for his ſake. He urged him, "to contemn all dangers in aſſerting "and preſerving the ſincere doctrine of Chriſt, ſince, as St. "Paul teſtified, that *all that would live godly in Chriſt "Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution.* How much (ſaid he) ought "we to reckon that you are to receive the various aſſaults "of Satan, ſeeing you are thus good for the good of many. "But,

Tu ne cede malis, ſed contra audentior ito.

"Yield not to theſe evils, but go on the more boldly. And, "ſeeing you muſt bear adverſity, remember that we are "baptized into the death of Chriſt, and buried together "with him, that we may be once made partakers of his "reſurrection and eternal happineſs."

Who inſtigated the Queen to put him to death.

I do not find who were the Queen's great inſtigators, (now Wincheſter was dead,) ſtirring her up not to ſpare this Prelate, but by any means to put him to death, and that even after his ſubſcription; nor for what reaſon of ſtate this reſolution was taken at court, notwithſtanding his former good merits towards the Queen, who therefore certainly muſt have felt great ſtrugglings before ſhe could yield to have him die: but I am apt to ſuſpect the Cardinal (who now governed the Queen) had no ſmall hand in it, to ſhew his zeal for the papacy, and to revenge the injuries done it in King Henry's reign, as well as to ſucceed in his place. For his Latin letter to the Archbiſhop, mentioned above, favoured of a great deal of malice and mortal hatred towards him. In this letter, it appears, the Cardinal looked upon our Archbiſhop as a mere infidel and apoſtate from chriſtianity, and ſo to be treated. For in the very beginning he makes it a matter of conſcience to write to him, "It being in effect "as much as receiving him into his houſe: againſt which

CHAP. XXI. Anno 1555. Ep. John ii. 10.

"St. John gave a charge, ſpeaking of chriſtians turned "heathens, that *they ſhould not be received into our houſes, "nor bid God ſpeed.* And therefore, he wrote, he was once "in his mind not to ſpeak at all to him, but to God rather "concerning him, to ſend fire from heaven and conſume 391
"him. And aſketh the queſtion, [as though it could not be "reaſonably gainſaid,] whether he ſhould not do juſtly in "this imprecation upon him, who had before caſt out the "King out of the houſe of God, that is, the church. He "meant, as he explained himſelf, caſting him out, as Satan "caſt out man from paradiſe; not by force, but by de-"ceivable counſels. That him the Archbiſhop had followed, "and, by his impious advice, forced the King to disjoin "himſelf from the communion of the church, and his "country, together with himſelf; and wickedly betrayed "the church, the mother of us all; to the oppoſing where-"of he gave Satan all advantages, to the deſtruction as well "of ſouls as bodies. That he was the worſt of all others. "For they, being beſet on all ſides with divers temptations, "a great while reſiſted, and at laſt indeed gave way; but "he, the Archbiſhop, of his own free accord, walked in the "counſel of the ungodly; and not only ſo, but ſtood in it, "and in the way of ſinners, and confirmed the King therein: "and moreover ſat in the ſeat of the ſcornful. That, when "he came firſt to the epiſcopal chair, he was called to it to "cheat both God and man: and that he began his actions "with putting a cheat upon the King; and, together with "him, upon the church, and his country." This, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, he tells the Archbiſhop plainly and expreſsly, though under a ſhew of great ſanctity: which ſhews with what an implacable mind he ſtood affected towards him.

No monument for him but his martyrdom.

And thus we have brought this excellent Prelate unto his end, after two years and an half's hard impriſonment. His body was not carried to the grave in ſtate, nor buried, as many of his predeceſſors were, in his own cathedral church, nor incloſed in a monument of marble or touchſtone. Nor had he any inſcription to ſet forth his praiſes to poſterity: no ſhrine to be viſited by devout pilgrims, as his predeceſſors

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

St. Dunſtane and St. Thomas had. Shall we therefore ſay, as the poet doth,

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo. Quis putet eſſe deos?

No; we are better chriſtians, I truſt, than ſo, who are taught, that the rewards of God's elect are not temporal, but eternal. And Cranmer's martyrdom is his monument, and his name will outlaſt an epitaph or a ſhrine. But methinks it is pity, that his heart, that remained ſound in the fire, and was found unconſumed in his aſhes, was not preſerved in ſome urn: which, when the better times of Queen Elizabeth came, might, in memory of this truly great and good Thomas of Canterbury, have been placed among his predeceſſors in his church there, as one of the trueſt glories of that ſee.

His heart unconſumed.

Though theſe three martyrs, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were parted aſunder, and placed in ſeparate lodgings, that they might not confer together; yet they were ſuffered ſometimes to eat together in the priſon of Bocardo. I have 392 ſeen a book of their diet every dinner and ſupper, and the charge thereof: which was at the expence of Winkle and Wells, bailiffs of the city at that time; under whoſe cuſtody they were. As for example in this method:

The Bailiffs' expences about theſe three martyrs.

MSS. C. C. C. C.

The firſt of October dinner.

Bread and ale - - - - -	ii d.
Item, oiſters - - - - -	i d.
Item, butter - - - - -	ii d.
Item, eggs - - - - -	ii d.
Item, lyng - - - - -	viii d.
Item, a piece of freſh ſalmon - - -	x d.
Wine - - - - - - -	iii d.
Cheeſe and pears - - - - -	ii d.
	ii s. vi d.

From this book of their expences give me leave to make theſe few obſervations. They are conſtantly ſuppers as well as dinners. Their meals amounted to about three or four

ſhillings; ſeldom exceeding four. Their bread and ale commonly came to two pence or three pence. They had conſtantly cheeſe and pears for their laſt diſh, both at dinner and ſupper; and always wine; the price whereof was ever three pence, and no more. The prices of their proviſions (it being now an extraordinary dear time) were as follow. A gooſe, 14d. A pig, 12 or 13d. A cony, 6d. A woodcock, 3d. and ſometimes 5d. A couple of chickens, 6d. Three plovers, 10d. Half a dozen larks, 3d. A dozen of larks and two plovers, 10d. A breaſt of veal, 11d. A ſhoulder of mutton, 10d. Roaſt beef, 12d.

The laſt diſburſements (which have melancholy in the reading) were theſe:

	s.	d.
For three loads of wood-fagots to burn Ridley and Latimer - - -	12	0
Item, one load of furs-fagots - - -	3	4
For the carriage of theſe four loads - -	2	0
Item, a poſt - - - - -	1	4
Item, two chains - - - -	3	4
Item, two ſtaples - - - -	0	6
Item, four labourers - - - -	2	8

Then follow the charges for burning Cranmer:

	s.	d.
For an 100 of wood-fagots - - -	6	0
For an 100 and half of furs-fagots -	3	4
For the carriage of them - - -	0	8
To two labourers - - - -	1	4

The Bailiffs not repaid.

It ſeems the ſuperiors in thoſe days were more zealous to ſend theſe three good men to Oxon, and there to ſerve their ends upon them, and afterwards to burn them, than they were careful honeſtly to pay the charges thereof. For Winkle and Wells, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to get themſelves reimburſed of what they had laid out, which came to ſixty-three pounds, ten ſhillings and two pence, could never get but twenty pounds: which they received 393 by the means of Sir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate. Inſomuch that, in the year 1566, they put up a petition to

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

Archbiſhop Parker and the other biſhops; that they would among themſelves raiſe and repay that ſum, which the ſaid Bailiffs were out of purſe in feeding of theſe three reverend fathers. In which petition they ſet forth, "That, in the "ſecond and third years of King Philip and Queen Mary, "Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Latimer, and Biſhop Ridley, "were by order of council committed to the cuſtody of "them, and ſo continued a certain time; and for them they "diſburſed the ſum of 63l. 10s. 2d: whereof but 20l. "was paid to them. Therefore they pray his Grace, and "the reſt of the biſhops, to be a means among themſelves "that the remaining ſum may be paid to them, being 43l. "10s. 2d; or ſome part thereof: otherwiſe they, and "their poor wives and children, ſhould be utterly undone." And, to give the better countenance to theſe men, that were going to carry up their petition, Laurence Humfrey, Preſident of Magdalen College, and the Queen's profeſſor, wrote this letter on their behalf to Archbiſhop Parker.

J E H.

Humfrey to Archbiſhop Parker in their behalf. Ex biblioth. C.C.C.C.

"My humble commendations preſuppoſed in the Lord. "To be a ſuitor in another man's caſe, it ſeemeth boldneſs; "and, in a matter of money, to write to your Grace, is more "than faucineſs: yet charity, *operiens multitudinem peccatorum*, doth move me, and will perſuade you to hear him. "A debt is due unto him for the table of Mr. Dr. Cranmer, "by the Queen's Majeſties appointment. And Mr. Secretary "in Oxford wiſhed him, at that time of buſineſs in progreſs, "to make ſome motion to the biſhops for ſome relief. The "caſe is miſerable. The debt is juſt. His charges in the "ſuit have been great. His honeſty, I aſſure your Grace, "deſerves pitiful conſideration. And for that my Lord of "Sarum writeth to me, as here, in Oxford, he promiſed that "his part ſhall not be behind, what order ſoever it pleaſe my "lords to take for the diſpatch of the ſame. I requeſt "your Grace, as ſucceſſor to that right reverend father, and "chief patron of ſuch poor ſuitors, to make, by your good "means, ſome collection for him among the reſt of my "lords the biſhops; that his good will, ſhewed to that "worthy martyr, may of you be conſidered: and ſo he

" bound to your goodneſs. of his part altogether unde- CHAP. XXI.
" ſerved. Thus recommending the common cauſe of re- Anno 1555.
" formation to you; and myſelf, and this poor man to your
" good remembrance, I leave to trouble you. Requeſting
" you once again to hear him, and tender his cauſe even of
" charity for God his ſake: to whoſe protection I com-
" mend your Grace. From Oxon, November 22, anno 1566.

" Your Grace's humble orator, Laur. Humfrey."

Though I cannot trace this any further, yet I make no doubt this petition was favourably received with the Archbiſhop and Biſhops. It ſeems, in Cranmer's life-time, money 394
was ſent to Oxford for the ſuſtentation of theſe priſoners of Chriſt, but embezzled. For one W. Pantry of Oxford received forty pounds at Mr. Stonelye's hand for my Lord Cranmer, and the other two in like caſe. This was declared by the Bailiffs to Thomas Doyley, Eſquire, ſteward to Archbiſhop Parker.

CHAP. XXII.

Cranmer's Books and Writings.

HAVING brought our hiſtory of this ſingular and extraordinary light of the church to this period, we will, before we take our leave of him, gather up ſome few fragments more: thinking it pity that any thing ſhould be loſt that may either ſerve to communicate any knowledge of him to poſterity, or to clear and vindicate him from aſperſions or miſrepreſentations, vulgarly conceived of him. And here will fall under our conſideration, firſt, his books and writings; after them, his acquaintance with learned men, and his favour to them and learning: then, ſome matters relating to his family and officers: and, laſtly, we ſhall conclude with ſome obſervations upon him.

For the pen of this great divine was not idle, being em- His books and writings.
ployed, as earneſtly as his authority and influence, for the

BOOK III.

furtherance of religion, and reſcue of this church from popiſh ſuperſtition and foreign juriſdiction. He laid a ſolid foundation in learning by his long and ſerious ſtudies in the univerſity: to which he was much addicted. Inſomuch that this was one of the cauſes which made him ſo labour, by the intereſt of his friends with King Henry, to be excuſed from taking the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury; becauſe this promotion would ſo much interrupt his beloved ſtudies: deſiring rather ſome ſmaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book. And as he had been an hard ſtudent, ſo he was a very great writer; both in reſpect of the number of books and treatiſes he compiled, as of the learning, judgment, and moment of them.

His firſt book.

The firſt treatiſe he wrote was, that which was done at the command of Henry VIII. *viz.* concerning the unlawfulneſs of his marriage with his brother Arthur's widow: which he made appear to be both againſt the word of God, and againſt the judgment of the ancient Fathers of the church; and therefore a caſe indiſpenſable by the Pope. And ſo well had he ſtudied the point, and ſo well was aſſured of what he had wrote, that he undertook, before the King, to maintain the truth of it at Rome, in the preſence of the Pope himſelf. The King accordingly diſmiſſed him to the Pope, in joint embaſſy with the Earl of Wiltſhire, and ſome others, for that purpoſe. He preſented his book to the Pope, offering to ſtand by it againſt any whomſoever that ſhould attempt to gainſay it. But the Pope thought not fit to ſuffer ſo tender a point to be diſputed, wherein his prerogative was ſo much touched. When he
395 had finiſhed this diſcourſe, it was ſent to Cambridge, and had the approbation and ſubſcription of the eminenteſt doctors there; *viz.* Salcot, Repps, Crome, and divers others. Among which, I ſuppoſe, were, Heines, Latimer, Shaxton, Skip, Goodrick, Hethe; who were then gremials.

Other of his writings.

After this book, he was much employed in writing more, at various times, and upon various occaſions. Fox mentioneth Cranmer's book of the Reformation, (which I ſuppoſe was that of the public ſervice,) the Catechiſm, the book of Homilies, which was part by him compoſed, and part by his procurement, and by him approved and pub-

liſhed. Likewiſe the Confutation of eighty-eight Articles, deviſed and propounded by a convocation in King Henry's reign, and laboured to be received and enjoined, though they were not.

His book of the doctrine of the Sacrament.

But his diſcourſe, wherein he ſtated the doctrine of the Sacrament in five books, muſt eſpecially be remembered: which he wrote on purpoſe for the public inſtruction of the church of England. And it is the more to be valued, as being writ by him in his mature age, after all his great readings and ſtudies, and moſt diligent and ſerious peruſals of all the eccleſiaſtical writers; whereby he became thoroughly acquainted with their judgments and opinions in that doctrine. And in it are contained his laſt and ripeſt thoughts on that argument. This book diſplayeth the great weakneſs of that diſtinguiſhing doctrine of the church of Rome, that aſſerts tranſubſtantiation.

Other writings mentioned by Biſhop Burnet.

Beſides theſe, many other writings and diſcourſes were made by him: which we are beholden to the Biſhop of Sarum for retrieving the memory of, and preſerving the ſubſtance of divers of them in his excellent Hiſtory; *viz.*

Hiſt. Ref. p. i. p. 174.

A learned Speech, made to the lords concerning the Pope and a general council: which that right reverend Author thinks was made about the year 1534, which was ſoon after his being made Archbiſhop.

Ubi ſupr. p. 364.

Some Queries in order to the correcting of ſeveral abuſes in religion; whereby the people had been deceived.

Ibid.

Some Queries concerning Confirmation: with the anſwers which were given to them by Archbiſhop Cranmer.

Ibid.

Some Conſiderations to induce the King to proceed to a further reformation. Theſe three laſt were preſented by the Archbiſhop to the King, about the year 1536, as the Biſhop of Sarum ſuppoſeth: and, having ſeen the originals thereof in the Cotton library, hath tranſcribed them to us in the Addenda to the Collections.

Ubi ſupr. p. 289.

His Reſolution of Seventeen Queſtions concerning the Sacraments, anno 1540.

Ubi ſupr. p. 330.

A Collection of Paſſages out of the Canon Law, to ſhew the neceſſity of reforming it, anno 1542.

His Letters to Oſiander, and Letters of Oſiander to him, Pag. 171.

BOOK III. concerning the proceedings of the German divines; whoſe violence the Archbiſhop diſliked.

Hiſt Ref. p ii. p. 40. A Speech made in the Convocation: wherein he exhorted the clergy to give themſelves to the ſtudy of the 396 Scriptures, and to conſider ſeriouſly what things in the church needed reformation, anno 1547.

Pag. 116. His Anſwer to the demands of the rebels in the weſt; drawn up by him by order of the council, anno 1549.

Pag. 248. His Declaration, to vindicate himſelf from an aſperſion, That he had cauſed maſs to be ſung in Canterbury: and offering therein a public diſpute to maintain the reformation, anno 1553.

Hiſt Ref. part ii. p. 171. Beſides two volumes in folio, writ by Cranmer's own hand, upon all the heads of religion: conſiſting of allegations of texts of Scripture, and of ancient Fathers, and later doctors and ſchoolmen, upon each ſubject. There were alſo ſix or ſeven volumes of his writings, which were in the Lord Burleigh's poſſeſſion; as appeared by a letter of the ſaid Lord, which the Biſhop of Sarum ſaw: but he thought theſe may now be loſt. Moſt of the forementioned writings are preſerved in the Cotton library, or in that of Corpus Chriſti, Cambridge; or among the manuſcripts of the right reverend Biſhop Stillingfleet.

Athen. Oxon. p. 578. To which we muſt add the mention of a bundle of books lying in the palace-treaſury in Weſtminſter, in defence of the King's title of Supreme Head, and concerning the divorce, and ſeveral other matters, againſt Cardinal Pole: which are ſuppoſed to be written partly by Dr. Clark, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and partly by our Archbiſhop.

More of his writings ſtill. Several other letters, ſpeeches, and arguments of our Archbiſhop, may be found in theſe Memorials; which I omit here rehearſing. But I will add to theſe divers pieces beſides of this Prelate's writing, as they are ſet down by Melchior Adam, at the end of Cranmer's life: who indeed did but tranſcribe them from Geſner; and he from John Bale's Centuries.

I. A Preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible. This is tranſcribed in the Appendix.

II. A Catechiſm of Chriſtian Doctrine; printed by Gualter

Lynn, anno 1548. This Catechiſm was firſt framed in Germany; and by the Archbiſhop himſelf, or his ſpecial order, turned into Engliſh. And, to fix an authority to the ſame, he cauſed it to be publiſhed in his own name, and owned it for his own book. This Dr. Rowland Taylor, who lived in the Archbiſhop's family, declared before Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chancellor, at his examination before him. And in this ſenſe we muſt underſtand the Author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, when, ſpeaking of this Catechiſm, he ſtyles it, "a work that was "wholly his own." It was ſaid before that Juſtus Jonas (he, I ſuppoſe, that dwelt with the Archbiſhop) was the tranſlator of it into Latin. It treated of the ſacrament after the Lutheran way: which way the Archbiſhop embraced next after his rejection of the groſs papal tranſubſtantiation. This Catechiſm was printed firſt, by the Archbiſhop's order, about the time of King Henry's death, or ſoon after. In a ſecond edition the word *not* was inſerted in a certain place of the book, to alter the doctrine of the real preſence; which was aſſerted in the firſt edition. This Dr. Martin, one of Queen Mary's commiſſioners, threw in his diſh at his examination in Oxford. But the Archbiſhop profeſſed his ignorance concerning the foiſting in of that word. The addition of which word, indeed, he thought was needleſs; ſtill holding the body and blood *truly* preſent in the holy ſupper, though after a ſpiritual manner.

See Dr. Taylor's letter in Fox.

Hiſt. Ref. part ii. p. 71.

397

III. The Ordinances or Appointments of the reformed Church. This was the book of Common Prayer, with the preface before it, beginning, "There was never any thing," &c. as I learn out of Bale.

IV. One book of ordaining Miniſters. Which I ſuppoſe was the form of ordination publiſhed in the year 1550.

V. One book concerning the Euchariſt with Luther: with whom Cranmer once conſented in the doctrine of the preſence.

VI. A Defence of the Catholick Doctrine, in five books. Which was his excellent work, in vindication of himſelf againſt Biſhop Gardiner, and Dr. Richard Smith: whereof much hath been ſaid before.

VII. Eccleſiaſtical Laws in the time of King Edward.

BOOK III. This was the book of the reformation of the eccleſiaſtical laws; the management of which was, by the King's letters, committed to eight, whereof Cranmer was the chief.

VIII. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper; againſt Gardiner's ſermon. This ſermon is the ſame, I ſuppoſe, with that book of his, intituled, *A Detection of the Devil's Sophiſtry, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned People of the true Belief of the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar.* Which gave occaſion to the Archbiſhop's firſt writing upon this argument.

IX. One book againſt the error of Tranſubſtantiation.

X. One book, how Chriſt is preſent in the Supper.

XI. One book, concerning eating the Lord's Supper.

XII. One book, concerning the offering up of Chriſt. Theſe five books laſt mentioned are nothing elſe but the five parts of his book of the holy Sacrament, mentioned before.

XIII. One book of Chriſtian Homilies. Which muſt be the firſt part of our book of Homilies, publiſhed under King Edward.

XIV. One book in anſwer to the calumnies of Richard Smith. For this man had writ againſt Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, as well as Gardiner; but done ſo ſcurrilouſly, that Cranmer calls it, his *Calumnies.*

XV. Confutations of Unwritten Verities. Written againſt a book of the ſame Smith, intituled, *De Veritatibus non ſcriptis.* Which he afterwards recanted.

XVI. Twelve books of Common-places, taken out of the doctors. Thoſe volumes mentioned by Biſhop Burnet, I ſuppoſe, were ſome of theſe common-place books.

XVII. Concerning not marrying the Brother's Wife: two books. Which muſt be thoſe drawn up for the uſe, and by the command, of King Henry.

XVIII. Againſt the Pope's ſupremacy: two books. This was the declaration againſt the papal ſupremacy, ſaid to be put forth by the biſhops, in the year 1536, upon occaſion of Pole's book of *Eccleſiaſtical Union.*

XIX. Againſt the Pope's Purgatory: two books.

389 XX. Concerning Juſtification: two books. I cannot trace theſe two laſt-mentioned books, unleſs by them be

meant thoſe two treatiſes of juſtification and purgatory, that are ſet at the end of the Inſtitution. CHAP. XXII.

XXI. Pious Prayers: one book. This book, I ſuppoſe, was the *Orarium, ſeu libellus precationum*, put forth by the King and clergy, 1545. From whence a book of prayers was tranſlated into Engliſh, anno 1552.

XXII. Letters to learned Men: one book. This I cannot hear any tidings of.

XXIII. Againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and againſt the Adoration of the Bread: one book. Said to be writ while he was a priſoner. Which makes me conclude it to be part of his reply to Gardiner's ſecond aſſault of him, under the name of *Conſtantius*.

XXIV. To Queen Mary: one book, or rather one letter; which was that he writ after his examinations before her commiſſioners, and the Pope's ſub-delegate.

If ſomebody of leiſure, and that had the opportunity of libraries, would take the pains to collect together all theſe books, and other writings of this Archbiſhop, and publiſh them, it would be a worthy work, as both retrieving the memory of this extraordinary man, who deſerved ſo well of this church; and ſerving alſo much to illuſtrate the hiſtory of its reformation. But I know nothing of this nature done ſince the induſtrious John Day, in the year 1580, printed a book in folio, containing our Archbiſhop's *Anſwer unto Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, againſt the true Doctrine of the Sacrament: Alſo, to Richard Smith. Alſo, A true Copy of the Book writ by Stephen Gardiner. Alſo, The Life and Martyrdom of Cranmer, extracted out of the Book of Martyrs.*

Archbiſhop Parker was in purſuit of certain MSS. of Cranmer, concealed.

And now we are mentioning this great Prelate's writings, it may not be unworthy to take notice of what I meet with in a letter of Archbiſhop Parker to Secretary Cecyl, in the year 1563, his Grace being then at Canterbury. Where he ſpake of the *great notable written books* (as he ſtyles them) of his predeceſſor Dr. Cranmer, which he had left behind him at ſome of his houſes at or near Canterbury, whether Ford or Bekesborn, or both, or with ſome friends in thoſe parts. Theſe manuſcripts, it ſeems, were embezzled and ſurreptitiouſly taken away by private hands, probably

BOOK III.

during his reſtraint in Queen Mary's days, and now ſtudiouſly concealed by ſome that were minded, it may be, to ſtifle them, being chiefly levelled againſt the Roman church and Biſhop. Parker, who was a great and painful ſearcher after ancient and learned manuſcripts, and a diligent retriever of eminent men's writings, had, by credible information, learned in what hands many of thoſe books were; and had ſent either for the perſons concerned, or to them, to demand the ſaid books. But they denied them: whereupon, knowing no other way to recover them, he deſired the Secretary, by ſome power from the Queen's council, to authorize him to inquire and ſearch for thoſe books, and ſuch-like monuments, by all ways, as by the ſaid Parker's diſcretion ſhould be thought good; whether giving the parties an oath, or viewing their ſtudies. Wiſhing he
399 might recover them to be afterwards at the Queen's commandment: adding, that he ſhould be as glad to win them, as he would be to reſtore an old chancel to reparation. This letter of Archbiſhop Parker I have inſerted in the
Num. XC. Appendix. But whether, after all his diligence, he ſucceeded in the recovery of thoſe manuſcripts, I know not: I am apt to think he did; and that theſe writings of Cranmer, that were in his poſſeſſion, and afterwards bequeathed unto the library of Benet College; and thoſe other divers volumes, which were, as was before ſaid, in the keeping of the Lord Burghley, might be ſome at leaſt of them.

What the ſubject of his numerous writings were.

An inquiſitive man would be glad to know what the matter and contents of theſe numerous writings of our Archbiſhop were: and that, ſeeing ſo many of them are periſhed, the knowledge of the various ſubjects of them at leaſt might be preſerved. This, beſides what hath been ſhewn already, may be gathered by what I find in a ſupplication made to Queen Elizabeth by Ralph Morice, that had been his ſecretary for the ſpace of twenty years: during which time he was employed by that moſt reverend father, in writing for him "about the ſerious affairs of the "Prince and realm, committed unto him by thoſe moſt "noble and worthy Princes, King Henry VIII. and King "Edward VI. concerning as well the writings of thoſe "great and weighty matrimonial cauſes of the ſaid King

" Henry VIII. as alſo about the extirpation of the Biſhop " of Rome, his uſurped power and authority, the reforma- " tion of corrupt religion and eccleſiaſtical laws, and al- " teration of divine ſervice; and of divers and ſundry con- " ferences of learned men for the eſtabliſhing and advance- " ment of ſincere religion, with ſuch like. Wherein, he ſaid, " he was moſt painfully occupied in writing of no ſmall vo- " lumes from time to time."

CHAP. XXIII.

The Archbiſhop's Regard to learned Men.

FROM theſe truly noble and uſeful exerciſes of his great knowledge and learning, let us deſcend unto the reſpect he bare to good letters: which appeared from his favour to places of learning, and men of learning. We ſhewed before what were the applications of the Univerſity of Cambridge to him, and what a gracious patron he was to it and its members.

Paulus Fagius and Martin Bucer placed at Cambridge by his means.

Among whoſe good offices to that Univerſity, beſides thoſe already mentioned, it muſt not be omitted, that he was the great inſtrument of placing there thoſe two very learned foreign divines, Paulus Fagius, and Martin Bucer. By his frequent letters to them, then at Straſburg, urging them with the diſtracted and dangerous ſtate of Germany, he firſt brought them over into England in the year 1548: and, having entertained them in his family, the next year he preferred them both in Cambridge; Fagius to be public profeſſor of the Hebrew tongue, and Bucer of divinity. And, beſide the Univerſity-ſalary, he procured for each of them from the King, in the third year of his reign, patents for an honorary ſtipend of an hundred pounds per annum each, *de gratia ſpeciali Domini Regis*, to be paid by the hands of the Clerk of the Hanaper, or out of the treaſury of the Court of Augmentations, *durante beneplacito Domini Regis*: as I find by King Edward the Sixth's book of

Procures them honorary ſtipends from the King.

400

BOOK III.

ſales, formerly mentioned. Which patents bare date September 26, anno 1549, and their ſalaries payable from the feaſt of the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin. By the way, I do not ſee any where in the ſaid book of ſales that Peter Martyr, placed profeſſor of divinity in the other Univerſity of Oxon, enjoyed any ſuch royal ſalary, though he alſo had been invited over by Canterbury with the King's knowledge and allowance, and placed there by that Archbiſhop's means.

Allowances to P. Martyr and Ochin.

Yet he, and his companion Ochinus, had their annual allowances from the King; and ſo, I ſuppoſe, had all other learned foreigners here. Melanæthon alſo, who was now expected over, was intended ſome more extraordinary gratuity. Unto this noble chriſtian hoſpitality and liberality, Latimer, the great court preacher, excited the King in one of his ſermons before him. The paſſage may deſerve to be repeated: "I hear ſay Maſter Melanæthon, that great "clerk, ſhould come hither. I would with him, and ſuch "as he is, two hundred pounds a year: the King ſhould "never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There "is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Mar"tyr, and Bernard Ochin, which have an hundred mark "a piece. I would the King would beſtow a thou"ſand pounds on that ſort." Theſe matters, I doubt not, were concerted between Latimer and our Archbiſhop before; at whoſe palace he now was for the moſt part: as I find by one of his ſermons, wherein he ſpeaks of his taking boat at Lambeth; and, in another place, he mentioneth a book he met with in my Lord of Canterbury's library, and elſewhere of many ſuitors that applied to him at my Lord of Canterbury's, that interrupted his ſtudies there. The uſe I make of this is, that it is a fair conjecture hence, that this, and the many other excellent things ſo plainly propounded by this preacher to King Edward, happened by the counſel and ſuggeſtion of the Archbiſhop. But to return.

The third ſermon.

Dr. Mowſe, Maſter of Trinity Hall, favoured by Cranmer.

There was one Dr. William Mowſe, a civilian, and probably one of his officers, whom, for his merits and learning, our Archbiſhop for many a year had been a ſpecial benefactor to. Sir John Cheke alſo bare him a very good will.

Upon the removal of Dr. Haddon to ſome other preferment, this Dr. Mowſe ſucceeded Maſter of Trinity Hall in Cambridge. And, in the year 1552, the Archbiſhop, valuing his worth and integrity, was a ſuitor at court for ſome further preferment for him, whatever it were, which the ſtudy of the civil law had qualified him for: writing his letters on Mowſe's behalf to Secretary Cecyl, who was then with the King in his progreſs, not to forget him. And accordingly he was remembered, and obtained the place: for which the Archbiſhop afterwards gave him his moſt hearty thanks. And Dr. Mowſe alſo ſent the ſame Secretary a letter of thanks from Cambridge for the preferment he had obtained by his means: the main drift thereof was, to excuſe himſelf for his neglect, in that he had not ſooner paid his acknowledgments. Which, as it ſeems, the Secretary had taken ſome notice of, having expected to be thanked for the kindneſs he had done him. This letter, becauſe there is therein mention made of our Archbiſhop's ſingular munificence, and Cheke's affection towards him, and Mowſe himſelf once making a figure in that Univerſity, I have thought it not amiſs to inſert in the Appendix: though this man ſeemed to be none of the ſteadieſt in his religion. For I find him put out of his Maſterſhip of Trinity Hall, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, for having been a Proteſtant, and to make way for the reſtoration of Dr. Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had been outed before. Upon whoſe death that Maſterſhip falling void, and Mowſe having complied with the Romiſh religion, he became Maſter there again. And ſoon after, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was deprived by her commiſſioners for being a Papiſt, and one Harvey came in his room.

CHAP. XXIII.

401

No. XCI.

His inconſtancy.

Dr. Mowſe's fickleneſs appeared, that, upon the firſt tidings that fled to Cambridge of Queen Mary's ſucceſs againſt the Lady Jane's party, he, with ſeveral other temporizing univerſity-men, changed his religion, and, in four and twenty hours, was both Proteſtant and Papiſt. The truth is, his judgment varied according to his worldly intereſt: and, being one of thoſe that came about ſo roundly, he was appointed, by the complying party of the Univerſity, to be one of the two (Dr. Hatcher being the other) that

BOOK III.

should repair unto Dr. Sands, then the Vicechancellor, to demand of him, without any colour of reaſon or authority, the univerſity-books, the keys, and ſuch other things as were in his keeping. And ſo they did. And my author makes an obſervation of his ingratitude, as well as of his inconſtancy; *viz.* "That he that was an earneſt Proteſtant "but the day before, and one whom Dr. Sands had done "much good for, was now become a Papiſt, and his great "enemy."

And ingratitude. Fox.

Thus was our Archbiſhop a friend to this man, and divers others, who went along with him as far as he and the times favoured them: but, when theſe failed them, they failed the Archbiſhop through timorouſneſs in ſome, and worldly reſpects in others.

Becomes Reader of the civil law at Oxon. Ath. Oxon.

But once more of this Dr. Mowſe, and I have done with him. As a reward of his forwardneſs at Cambridge, before mentioned, I find he was ſoon after incorporated at Oxon, (together with Andrew Pern, D. D. a man of the ſame inconſtancy,) and preferred to be Reader of the civil law there, in the room of Dr. Aubrey, who probably was removed for incompliance. And, when the next change happened under Queen Elizabeth, Mowſe came about again; and, in the year 1560, obtained a prebend in the church of York. He lived till the year 1588, leaving ſome benefactions to his old college.

The Archbiſhop a patron to learned foreigners.

The Archbiſhop was indeed a great patron to all learned and pious men, eſpecially thoſe of the reformation: cheriſhing thoſe not only of his own country, but foreigners and ſtrangers alſo. And as he brought over divers with him, when he returned into England from his embaſſy in Germany, ſo he ſent for more: and ſuch as came to him he gave honourable harbour and maintenance to; keeping them at his own coſt, till he had made proviſions for them either in the church, or univerſity.

402 To Eraſmus, allowing him an honorary penſion.

For Eraſmus our Archbiſhop had a great value; whoſe worth and ſervice to the church he well knew. He allowed him an honorary penſion: promiſing him, that he would be no leſs kind unto him than his predeceſſor Warham had been before him: which Archbiſhop was one of Eraſmus his beſt and moſt extraordinary friends and benefactors.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of whom he uſed theſe words to a friend of his, *Qui mihi unus multorum inſtar erat.* Soon after the ſucceſſion of Cranmer into this Archbiſhop's room, Sir Thomas More wrote to Eraſmus, that he, that then filled the ſee of Canterbury, bore no leſs love to him than Warham had done before; and, *Quo non alius vixit tui amantior,* "that there "was no man living loved him better." And Eraſmus himſelf, mentioning his great loſs in Archbiſhop Warham, and divers other patrons of his, that were taken off by death, comforted himſelf that God had made up thoſe loſſes to him by raiſing him up other friends. "So (ſaith he) in the "room of Warham ſucceeded the reverend Thomas Cran-"mer, (*profeſſione theologus, vir integerrimus, candidiſſimiſ-"que moribus. Qui ultro pollicitus eſt ſeſe in ſtudio ac bene-"ficentia erga me, priori nequaquam ceſſurum: et quod "ſponte pollicitus eſt, ſponte præſtare cœpit: ut mihi Warа-"mus non ereptus, ſed in Cranmero renatus videri queat.*) "By profeſſion a divine, a perſon of the greateſt integrity, and "moſt unblameable behaviour. Who of his own accord pro-"miſed, that, in favour and kindneſs toward me, he would be "no ways behind his predeceſſor. And that which he volun-"tarily promiſed, he hath voluntarily begun to make good. "So that, methinks, Warham is not taken away from me, but "rather born again to me in Cranmer." One ſpecimen of his munificence towards this learned man I meet with in one of his letters, wherein he acknowledged to have received of Cranmer eighteen angels: when the Biſhop of Lincoln ſent him alſo fifteen, and the Lord Crumwel twenty.

Eraſ. Ep. lo. lib. 27.

Ep. 7. lib. 27.

To Alexander Aleſs, a Scotchman.

Alexander Aleſs was another learned ſtranger whom our Archbiſhop gave harbour and ſhewed favour to: a Scotchman by birth, but that had long lived and converſed with Melanæthon in Germany. Who, knowing the generous and hoſpitable diſpoſition of the Archbiſhop, recommended this Aleſs to him: giving a high character of him for his learning, probity, and diligence in every good office. In the year 1535. he brought over from Melanæthon a book, to be preſented to the Archbiſhop: wherein "that learned Ger-"man laboured (as he told the Archbiſhop in his letter, "ſent at the ſame time) to ſtate diligently and profitably "moſt of the controverſies, and, as much as he could, to

By him Melanæthon ſends a book to the Archbiſhop.

BOOK III.

"mitigate them: leaving the judgment of the whole unto "his Grace, and ſuch learned and pious men as he, from "whoſe judgment (he ſaid) he would never differ in the "church of Chriſt: deſiring him alſo to acquaint Aleſs "what his Grace's own judgment was of the book, that "Aleſs might ſignify the ſame unto him." Such was the deference Melancthon gave unto the learning and cenſure of Cranmer. This book I ſhould ſuppoſe to have been his Common-places, but that they came out a year after. By the ſame meſſenger he ſent another of theſe books to be preſented in his name to the King; and, in caſe the Archbiſhop approved of what he had wrote, he entreated him to introduce the bringer, and to aſſiſt him in the preſenting of it. Upon theſe recommendations of Aleſs, and the Archbiſhop's own ſatisfaction in the worth of the man, he retained him with him at Lambeth, and much eſteemed him.

And to the King.

403

Aleſs brought by Crumwel into the convocation:

This was that Aleſs that Crumwel, probably by Cranmer's means, brought with him to the convocation in the year 1536, whom he deſired to deliver there his opinion about the ſacrament. Who did ſo, and enlarged in a diſcourſe, aſſerting two ſacraments only inſtituted by Chriſt; namely, Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper: as the author of the Britiſh Antiquities relates, *ad ann.* 1537, calling him there *virum in theologia perdoctum*, "a thoroughpaced divine."

where he aſſerts two ſacraments only.

Writes a book to clear Proteſtants of the charge of ſchiſm.

This man compiled a uſeful treatiſe againſt the ſchiſm laid to the charge of Proteſtants by thoſe of the church of Rome: the ſubſtance and arguments of which book were Melancthon's own invention, but Aleſs compoſed and brought it into method and words. This book Melancthon ſent unto George Prince of Anhalt. The conſolations of which, as he wrote to that noble and religious man, he was wont to inculcate upon himſelf, againſt thoſe who objected commonly to them "the horrible crime of ſchiſm," as he ſtyles it: "for (ſaith he) their monſtrous cruelty is ſuffi-"cient to excuſe us." Which, it ſeems, was one of the arguments whereby they defended themſelves againſt that charge: eſteeming it lawful and neceſſary to leave the communion of a church which countenanced and practiſed cruelty, a thing ſo contrary to one of the great and fundamental laws of chriſtian religion, namely, that of love; and that their abid-

Atrox ſchiſmatis crimen. Ep. 86. lib. 1.

Satis excuſat nos iſtorum horribilis crudelitas, quam profecto neque adjuvare neque approbare debemus. Ubi ſupra.

CHAP. XXIII.

ing in a church where such bloody and barbarous practices were, would argue their approbation and concurrence.

Translated a book of Bucer's about the English ministry.

And as Melancthon made use of him in composing his thoughts into a handsome style, so did another great light of the same nation; I mean Bucer. In King Edward's days he had wrote a book in the German, that is, in his own country language, about ordination to the ministry in this kingdom of England, intituled, *Ordinatio Ecclesiæ, seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in florentissimo Angliæ regno.* This our Aless turned into Latin, and published, "for the consolation of the churches "every where in those sad times," as it ran in the title.

If any desire to look backward unto the more early times of this man, the first tidings we have of him was about the year 1534, when, upon a sharp persecution raised in Scotland, he, with other learned men, fled thence into England, and was received into Crumwel's family. And it is said that he became known to, and grew into such favour with, King Henry, that he called him *his scholar.* But, after Crumwel's death, in the year 1540, he, taking one Fise with him, went into Saxony: where both of them were, for their great learning, made professors in the university of Leipzig.

Received into Crumwel's family.

Hist. Ref. p. i. p. 308.

In the year 1557. I find this man at Leipzig, where he was professor of divinity, as was said before. Hither this year Melancthon sent to him from Wormes, giving him some account of the preparations that were making by the Roman catholic party, in order to a conference with the Protestants: at which the said Aless was to be present, and make one of the disputants on the Protestant side. And, ten years before this, *viz.* 1547, he was the public moderator of divinity, both in the schools and pulpits of Leipzig, or some other university.

Aless professor of divinity at Leipzig.

Mel. Ep. p. 359. edit. 1647.

404

Besides this Aless, there were four other pious and learned persons, foreigners, who, bringing along with them letters of recommendation from the said Melancthon, were courteously received, and freely entertained, by our hospitable Archbishop, all of them, in the year 1548, at which time the persecution grew hot upon the Interim. One of these was Gualter, another Scot by nation. A second was one named Francis Dryander, an acquaintance of Melancthon's of long continuance. "Whom, as he told the Archbishop,

Cum et in templis, et in scholis doctrinam gubernes. Mel. Ep. 111. lib. 3.

Four others recommended by Melancthon to the Archbishop: viz. Gualter, Dryander.

BOOK III.

" he had tried and known inwardly, and found him endowed " with excellent parts, well furniſhed with learning; that " he judged rightly of the controverſies, altogether free " from all wild and ſeditious opinions; and that he would " ſoon perceive the ſingular gravity of his manners, after " ſome few days knowledge of him: motioning withal to the " Archbiſhop his fitneſs to be preferred in either of our " univerſities. As he did alſo to King Edward, in letters " brought at this time to him by the ſaid Dryander:" wherein he recommended him to that King, as one that would prove a very uſeful perſon, either in his univerſities, or elſewhere in his kingdom.

Ep. 7. lib. 8.

Dryander placed at Oxon.

This recommendation had ſo much force, that this man ſeemed ſoon after to be ſent and placed at Oxon, and there remained, till, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, when all ſtrangers were commanded to depart the realm, he went hence to Paris, and from thence to Antwerp. Whence he wrote a letter to one Criſpin, a doctor of phyſic in Oxon; therein relating to him a paſſage concerning the coarſe entertainment which the divines of Lovain gave Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, upon the ſcandal they took againſt him for his book *De vera Obedientia*. Which letter is extant in Fox.

Ad ann. 1555.

Euſebius Menius.

The third was Euſebius Menius, the ſon of Juſtus Menius. Which Juſtus was a perſon of great fame and eſteem, both for his learning in philoſophy and divinity, and for the government of the churches within the territories of John Frederick, Duke of Saxony. Of this Euſebius his ſon Melanchthon writ to our Archbiſhop, " that he had good pre- " ferments in Germany, but he could not bear to behold " the calamities of his poor country, which made him ſeek " for a being in foreign parts. He recommended him to " his Grace, deſiring him to cheriſh him." Adding, " that, " in the Gothic times, what remained of the church, and " of right doctrines, were preſerved in our iſland; and that " Europe being now in a combuſtion, it were to be wiſhed " that ſome peaceable harbour might be for learning. He " doubted not but that many flocked hither; but that it " was the part of piety and goodneſs eſpecially to help the " youth of excellent men, and the ſons of ſuch as had well

Mel. Ep. 66. lib. 1.

" deferved of the church; efpecially when they themfelves CHAP.
" alfo were eminent for their parts and learning. And fince XXIII.
" this Eufebius was a good mathematician, and had read
" mathematicks in one of their fchools, he propounded him
" to the Archbifhop to be a fit perfon for the profeffion of
" that fcience in our univerfity."

The fourth was Juftus Jonas, the fon alfo of a great Ger- Juftus Jonas. 1605
man divine of the fame name, and who was one of the four that, in the year 1530, came to Augfburgh, upon a diet appointed by the Emperor for religion, with the Elector of Saxony; Melanćthon, Agricola, and Georgius Spalatinus, being the other three. The fon came over with letters Sleid. lib. 7.
commendatory from Melanćthon, as the others did. He commended his excellent parts, and his progrefs in all kind of philofophy and good manners, and efpecially his eloquence; which, he faid, he had a nature divinely framed to. To which it may not be amifs to fubjoin what Melanćthon fomewhere elfe did obferve of his family: namely, " that
" his grandfather was a perfon of fame for oratory and civil
" prudence; his father endowed with fuch parts as naturally
" made him an orator, in refpect of his fluency of words,
" and gracefulnefs of delivery." And this felicity of nature he improved by a great acceffion of learning: which made him tell our Juftus, that he was born in *oratoria familia*. Ep. 129. lib. 1.
And fuch care did he take of him when he was young, that he took the pains to write him a long letter, containing inftructions for his improvement in the grounds of learning. This man the Archbifhop was very kind to, gave him harbour, and admitted him freely into his fociety and converfe: infomuch that Juftus Jonas the father entreated Melanćthon, that he would take particular notice to the Archbifhop of his great favour fhewed to his fon. Among the difcourfes the communicative Prelate held with Jonas while he was with him, one happened concerning a noted queftion in divinity: where, launching out into free communication with him upon that point, he defired him to impart to Melanćthon the fubftance of what he had difcourfed; and that he fhould fignify to him, that the Archbifhop requefted his judgment thereof. Which accordingly Jonas did. And Melanćthon, in a letter to the Archbifhop, ftyles it *non ob-*

BOOK III.

ſcura quæſtio, "and that it had already much ſhaken the "church, and, (ſays he,) *concutiet durius*, ſhall ſhake it yet "more:" giving his reaſon for this conjecture, "becauſe "thoſe governors [meaning, I ſuppoſe, the Papal clergy] did "not ſeek for a true remedy to ſo great a matter." It doth not appear to me what this queſtion was that the Archbiſhop was ſo earneſt to confer with this great divine about; whether it were concerning the neceſſity of epiſcopal government and ordination, or concerning the uſe of ceremonies in the church, or about the doctrine of the ſacrament; this laſt I am apt to believe: but either of them hath, according to Melancthon's prediction, ſufficiently ſhaken the churches of Chriſt. But to return to Jonas. He had written ſome pieces, and preſented them to the King; for which he intended to reward him. And, being now ready to go to France for the improvement of his knowledge, and ſo, after a time, to return into England again, for which he had a great affection, he beſought Secretary Cecyl, in a well-penned letter, "that whatſoever the King intended to "beſtow on him, he would do it out of hand, for the ſupply "of his travelling neceſſity." This letter, for the antiquity of it, and the fame of the man, I have inſerted in the Appendix. In which is alſo contained an extract of part of Jonas the father's letter to his ſon concerning the miſeries of Germany.

No. XCII.

406

CHAP. XXIV.

Melancthon and the Archbiſhop great Friends.

Divers memorable paſſages between Melancthon and our Archbiſhop.

THESE occaſions of the frequent mention of Melancthon do draw us into a relation of ſome further paſſages between him and our Archbiſhop. In the year 1549. happened ſeveral diſputations, chiefly concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, before the King's commiſſioners in both univerſities. In Oxford they were managed chiefly by Peter Martyr: and in Cambridge, Ridley, then Biſhop of Rocheſter, and a commiſſioner, was the chief moderator. Soon

after, Martin Bucer, in this univerſity, defended three points: one, of the *Sufficiency of the Scripture;* another, concerning the *Erring of Churches;* and the laſt, concerning *Works done before Juſtification;* againſt Pern, Sedgwick, and Yong. They on the popiſh ſide pretended much, in their diſputations, to have antiquity and the Fathers for them. CHAP. XXIV.

Theſe diſputations did our moſt reverend Prelate, together with his own letter, convey to Melanethon by the hand of one Germanicus, a German: who probably might be one of thoſe learned ſtrangers that the Archbiſhop hoſpitably entertained. Sends Melanethon certain public diſputations in Oxford and Cambridge.

The reflection that that divine, in an anſwer to his Grace in the year 1550, made upon peruſal of theſe papers, was, "That he was grieved to ſee that thoſe who fought ſo "much for the ancient authorities would not acknowledge "the clearneſs of them. Nor was there any doubt what "the founder men in the ancient church thought. But "that there were new and ſpurious opinions foiſted into "many of their books: into that of Theophylact moſt "certainly for one. And that there was ſome ſuch paſſage "in the copy that Œcolampadius made uſe of, when he "tranſlated Theophylact, which he liked not of, but yet "tranſlated it as he found it: but this was wholly wanting "in the copy that Melanethon had. That the ſame hap-"pened in Bede's books, which he ſuppoſed might be found "more incorrupt among us," [Bede being our countryman.] Melanethon's reflections thereupon. Ep. 41. lib. 3.

The ſame Melanethon, with this his letter, ſent our Archbiſhop a part of his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed; for this end, that he might paſs his judgment thereon: as he alſo did, for the ſame purpoſe, to A Laſco, Bucer, and Peter Martyr; all then in England. Sends the Archbiſhop his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed.

The beginning of this learned German's acquaintance with our Prelate was very early. For the Archbiſhop's fame ſoon ſpread abroad in the world, beyond the Engliſh territories: which was the cauſe of that addreſs of Melanethon, mentioned before in the year 1535, and in the month of Auguſt, when he ſent a letter and a book to him by Alexander Aleſs. In the letter he ſignified what a high character both for learning and piety he had heard given of The beginning of their acquaintance.

BOOK III.

him by many honeſt and worthy men; and "that, if the "church had but ſome more ſuch biſhops, it would be no "difficult matter to have it healed, and the world reſtored "to peace: congratulating Britain ſuch a Biſhop." And this ſeems to have been the firſt entrance into their acquaintance and correſpondence.

The Archbiſhop propounds a weighty matter to Melancthon for the union of all Proteſtant churches.

407 In the year 1548. Cranmer propounded a great and weighty buſineſs to Melancthon; and a matter that was likely to prove highly uſeful to all the churches of the evangelic profeſſion. It was this. The Archbiſhop was now driving on a deſign for the better uniting of all the Proteſtant churches; *viz.* by having one common confeſſion and harmony of faith and doctrine, drawn up out of the pure Word of God, which they might all own and agree in. He had obſerved what differences there aroſe among Proteſtants in the doctrine of the ſacrament, in the divine decrees, in the government of the church, and ſome other things. Theſe diſagreements had rendered the profeſſors of the Goſpel contemptible to thoſe of the Roman communion: which cauſed no ſmall grief to the heart of this good man, nearly touched for the honour of Chriſt his maſter, and his true church, which ſuffered hereby. And, like a perſon of a truly public and large ſpirit, as his function was, ſeriouſly debated and deliberated with himſelf for the remedying this evil. This made him judge it very adviſable to procure ſuch a confeſſion. And in order to this he thought it neceſſary for the chief and moſt learned divines of the ſeveral churches to meet together, and with all freedom and friendlineſs to debate the points of controverſy according to the rule of Scripture. And, after mature deliberation, by agreement of all parties, to draw up a book of articles, and heads of chriſtian faith and practice: which ſhould ſerve for the ſtanding doctrine of Proteſtants.

The diligence of the Archbiſhop in forwarding this deſign.

As for the place of this aſſembly, he thought England the fitteſt in reſpect of ſafety, as the affairs of Chriſtendom then ſtood: and, communicating this his purpoſe to the King, that religious Prince was very ready to grant his allowance and protection. And as Helvetia, France, and Germany, were the chief countries abroad where the Goſpel was profeſſed, ſo he ſent his letters to the moſt eminent miniſters of

CHAP. XXIV.

each, namely, to Bullinger, Calvin, and Melancthon, diſcloſing this his pious deſign to them, and requiring their counſel and furtherance. Melancthon firſt of all came acquainted with it by Juſtus Jonas, junior, to whom the Archbiſhop had related the matter at large, and deſired him to ſignify as much in a letter to the ſaid Melancthon; and that it was his requeſt to him, to communicate his judgment thereupon. This Jonas did, and Melancthon accordingly writ to our Archbiſhop on the calends of May this year to this purpoſe: "That if his judgment and opinion were required, he ſhould be willing both to hear the ſenſe of other learned men, and to ſpeak his own, and to give his reaſons, τὰ μὲν πείθων, τάδε πειθόμενος, *perſuading and being perſuaded*, as ought to be in a conference of good men: letting truth, and the glory of God, and the ſafety of the church, not any private affection, ever carry away the victory." Telling him withal, "that the more he conſidered of this his deliberation, than which he thought there could be nothing ſet on foot more weighty and neceſſary, the more he wiſhed and preſſed him to publiſh ſuch a true and clear confeſſion of the whole body of chriſtian doctrine, according to the judgment of learned men; whoſe names ſhould be ſubſcribed thereto: that among all nations there might be extant an illuſtrious teſtimony of doctrine, delivered by grave authority; and that poſterity might have a rule to follow." And he was of opinion, that this confeſſion ſhould be much of the nature of their confeſſion of Augsburgh: only that ſome few points in controverſy might be in plainer words delivered than was in that. "That ambiguities might not hereafter occaſion new differences. And that in the church it was beſt to call a ſpade a ſpade: and not to caſt ambiguous words before poſterity, as an apple of contention. And that if in Germany there had been an entire conſent of all the churches, they had not fallen into thoſe miſeries." And ſo concludes, earneſtly exhorting our Prelate to apply himſelf vigorouſly in theſe his pious cares and thoughts for the good eſtate of the churches.

Ep. 66. lib. i. Melancthon's judgment and approbation thereof.

His caveat of avoiding ambiguous expreſſions.

In Eccleſia rectius eſt ſcapham, ſcapham dicere.

Not long after he purſued his firſt letter with a ſecond. Wherein he again reminded our reverend father of that

Renews the ſame caution in another letter.

BOOK III.

caution; *viz.* "That nothing might be left under general "terms, but expreſſed with all the perſpicuity and diſtinct- "neſs imaginable." Which, I ſuppoſe, he ſaid, to meet with the opinion of ſome, who thought it might be more convenient, in order to peace, to ſuffer ſome difficult and controverted points to paſs under dubious expreſſions, or in the very words of Scripture, without any particular deciſive ſenſe and explanation impoſed on them. And concerning this it is probable our Archbiſhop had deſired his opinion. This Melanchthon was againſt; ſaying, "that, for his part, he "loved not labyrinths; and that therefore all his ſtudy was, "that whatſoever matters he undertook to treat of, they "might appear plain and unfolded. That it was indeed the "practice of the council of Trent; which therefore made "ſuch crafty decrees, that ſo they might defend their errors "by things ambiguouſly ſpoken. But that this ſophiſtry "ought to be far from the church. That there is no ab- "ſurdity in truth rightly propounded: and that this good- "neſs and perſpicuity of things is greatly inviting, where- "ſoever there be good minds."

Peter Martyr of this judgment. *Quod vir bonus ſibi perſuaſiſſet poſſe hac ratione tolli gravem, quæ eſt de hac cauſa, controverſiam, et ita Eccleſiæ pacem diu deſideratam reſtitui.* In Vit. P. Mart. per Joſiam Simlerum.

And of this very judgment was Peter Martyr, another great divine. For when Bucer, in a diſcourſe with him at Straſburg, had adviſed him, when he ſpake of the Euchariſt, to uſe more dark and ambiguous forms of ſpeech, that might be taken in a larger acceptation, urging to him, that this was the courſe he himſelf took, and "that a certain good "man" [whom I ſuſpect ſtrongly to be our Archbiſhop] "had "perſuaded him, that by this means the great controverſy "concerning the real preſence in the ſacrament might be "at an end, and ſo peace, ſo long wanted, might be re- "ſtored to the church:" Martyr was over-perſuaded by his friend ſo to do, and uſed for ſome time the ſame form of ſpeech with him, when he had occaſion to diſcourſe of that doctrine. But afterward he returned to his former more diſtinct ſtyle, as well in the matter of the real preſence, as in all other ſubjects he treated of. And that both becauſe he ſaw this would not ſuffice them, who held a groſs and carnal preſence of Chriſt's body, unleſs their groſs manner of expreſſion were received, and their as groſs interpretation too; and becauſe he found that many weaker brethren were

greatly offended with theſe ambiguities of ſpeech, and ſo entangled and confounded, that they ſcarce knew what to think in this point. And ſo, leaving Bucer to purſue his obſcurer phraſes, he choſe to ſpeak more clearly and diſtinctly. And neither did Bucer diſallow of Martyr in this courſe, nor was Martyr ignorant of Bucer's true ſenſe, however doubtful his expreſſions were: as the author of his life tells us. This I mention to ſhew, how exactly Martyr accorded with Melanchthon in this opinion, of expreſſing things in clear and perſpicuous terms; which the ſaid Melanchthon thought it highly neceſſary now to be inculcated, when deliberation was had of drawing up a general confeſſion of faith. After he had thus declared his mind in this matter, he particularly deſcended to the doctrine of fate; telling the Archbiſhop, how "the Stoical diſputes of that ſubject among "them in the beginning were too rough, and horrid, and "ſuch as were prejudicial to diſcipline." Which, I ſuppoſe, might be occaſioned from ſome paſſage in the Archbiſhop's letter, adviſing with this learned man how to propound the doctrines of predeſtination and free-will.

CHAP. XXIV. 409

Joſias Simler.

What Melanchthon thought of the doctrine of fate.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbiſhop correſponds with Calvin.

THESE his counſels he brake alſo to John Calvin, the chief guide of the French churches: who alſo highly approved of his pious propoſition. The Archbiſhop, in a letter to that great reformer, had been lamenting the differences that were in the reformed churches; having his eye, I ſuppoſe, herein upon thoſe of Geneva and Germany; and, like a true father of the church, conſulting for the making up of the breaches, he thought no fitter remedy could be uſed, than for pious and wiſe men, and ſuch as were well exerciſed in God's ſchool, to meet together and profeſs their conſents in the doctrine of godlineſs. This Calvin acknowledged was rightly and prudently adviſed by him: applauding him that he did not only lead the way in purging the

Calv. Ep. 126.

The Archbiſhop breaks his purpoſe alſo to Calvin.

Calvin's approbation [illegible] and commendation of the Archbiſhop.

BOOK III.

doctrine of God's church from corruption, but did so voluntarily exhort and encourage others therein. And that he did not only take care of religion at home in his own country, but all the world over. And as to the meeting and converse of divines for this purpose, which Cranmer had told him he had made the King so sensible of the need and usefulness of, that he was forward in it, and had offered a place in his kingdom for them securely to assemble together in; that French divine wished, "that learned and wise men "from the chief churches would accordingly meet, and, di-"ligently discussing the chief heads of faith, would by com-"mon consent deliver to posterity the certain doctrine of "the Scripture. But that, among the great evils of that "age, this also was to be reputed, that churches were so "divided from one another, that human society was scarcely "kept up among them: much less that sacred communion "of the members of Christ, which all professed with their "mouths, but few did sincerely take care to preserve. That "as to himself, if he might be thought to be of any use, he "would not grudge to pass over ten seas, if there were need. "That if it were only to contribute some assistance to the "kingdom of England, he should esteem it a reason lawful "enough; but much more, he thought, he ought to spare "no labour, no trouble, to procure a means, whereby the "churches, that were so widely divided, might unite among "themselves. But he hoped, his weakness and insufficiency "being such, he might be spared: and that he would do "his part in prosecuting that with his prayers and wishes, "which should be undertaken by others." And whereas our Archbishop had hinted to him his jealousy, that the business would hardly find a good issue by reason of certain difficulties attending it, Calvin not only exhorted, but earnestly beseeched him to go forward, till it should have some effect at least, though it succeeded not in all respects according to his wish. And so prayed God to guide him with his holy Spirit, and to bless his pious endeavours.

Offers his service.

Excites the Archbishop to proceed.

But the troubles at home and abroad frustrated this excellent purpose, which for two years he had been labouring to bring to some good issue. His next resolution was to go as far as he could in this matter, since he could not go as far as

This excellent purpose frustrated.

CHAP. XXV.

He would. And he bethought himself of assembling together the divines of his own church, (and that by the King's authority,) to confer with them about drawing up a body of articles of religion: which purpose he had likewise communicated to Calvin. For which he greatly commended him; telling him, "that since the times were such, that that could "not in the least be hoped for, which was so much to be "wished, *viz.* that the chief teachers of the divers churches, "which embraced the pure doctrine of the Gospel, might "meet together, and publish to posterity a certain and clear "confession, out of the pure Word of God, concerning the "heads of religion then in controversy; he did extremely "commend that counsel which he had taken to establish "religion in England; lest things remaining any longer in "an uncertain state, or not so rightly and duly composed "and framed as it were convenient, the minds of the people "should remain in suspense and wavering." And then, quickening him, told him, "that this was his part chiefly to "do: that he himself saw well what that place required of "him, or rather what God exacted, in respect of that office "he had laid upon him. That he was of very powerful au- "thority; which he had not only by the amplitude of his "honour, but the long conceived opinion that went of his "prudence and integrity. That the eyes of the good were "cast upon him, either to follow his motions, or to remain "idle upon the pretence of his unactiveness."

Thinks of drawing up articles of religion for the English church.

Which he communicates to Calvin. Ep. 125.

And Calvin's reply and exhortation.

He took the freedom also with Cranmer to blame him for not having made more progress in the reformation: which he thought he might have done in the three years space, wherein King Edward had already reigned. And told him, "that he feared, when so many autumns had been "passed in deliberating only, at last the frost of a perpetual "winter might follow:" meaning that the people would grow stark cold in minding a reformation. Then "he re- "minded him of his age, that that called upon him to "hasten, lest, if he should be called out of the world before "matters in religion were settled, the conscience of his "slowness might create great anxiety to him. He particu- "larly put him in mind of the great want of pastors to "preach the Gospel, and that the church's revenues were

Blames him for having not made more progress in the reformation.

111

BOOK III.

" made ſuch a prey. Which he called *an intolerable evil:* " and ſaid, that this was a plain reaſon why there was ſo " little preaching among us. That a parcel of ſlow-bellies " were nouriſhed from the revenues of the church, to ſing " veſpers in an unknown tongue. But, in the cloſe, he ex- " cuſed him in regard of the many and great difficulties that " he wreſtled with." Which was certainly moſt true: inſomuch that, if he had not been a man of great conduct and indefatigable induſtry, the reformation had not made ſo fair a progreſs as it did in his time. And one may admire rather that he went ſo far, the iniquity of the times conſidered, than that he went no farther.

But not juſtly.

The clergy preach againſt ſacrilege.

For the great ones, in the minority of the King, took their opportunity moſt inſatiably to fly upon the ſpoils of the church, and charitable donations; little regarding any thing elſe than to enrich themſelves. Very vicious and diſſolute they were in their lives, as the ſoberer ſort in thoſe days complained; and therefore the leſs to be wondered they were ſo negligent to provide for the promoting the reformed religion and piety in the land. In the mean time, the chief preachers did what they could to redreſs theſe evils: for they plainly and boldly rebuked this evil governance; and eſpecially the covetouſneſs of the courtiers, and their ſmall regard to live after the Goſpel: and ſometimes incurred no ſmall danger by this freedom. Mr. Rogers, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and afterwards a martyr under Queen Mary, was one of theſe: who ſo freely diſcourſed once at St. Paul's Croſs concerning the abuſe of abbeys, and the church's goods, that he was ſummoned before the privy-council to anſwer for it. And ſo were divers others upon the ſame reaſon. And I am apt to think that theſe preachers did what they did by the counſel and direction of the Archbiſhop. So that the preſent ſtate of things, and the endeavours of him and the reſt of the clergy conſidered, he was a little too haſtily cenſured by Calvin in that behalf. But Cranmer was of ſo mild and gracious a ſpirit, that he did not ſeem to conceive any diſpleaſure againſt Calvin for this his unjuſt charge of negligence; but kept up a great eſteem and value for him.

But, that I may take occaſion here to inſiſt a little longer

upon this argument, and vindicate the honefty and boldnefs of the Engliſh clergy, in ſpeaking their minds againſt the ſacrilegious ſpirit that reigned in theſe times; it may not be amiſs to give ſome account of a communication that happened about December or January, 1552, at court, between Sir William Cecyl, the King's ſecretary, and one Miles Wilſon, a grave divine, and acquaintance of the ſaid Cecyl, and a man of eminency in the univerſity of Cambridge. Diſcourſe happening between them of divers and ſundry things, relating partly to the propagating Chriſt's religion, and partly to the preſervation and increaſe of the commonwealth; the ſaid Wilſon delivered to Cecyl an oration to read, which he had compoſed, *De rebus Eccleſiæ non diripiendis*; "concerning not ſpoiling the church of her "means:" and which he once pronounced in the public ſchools of the Univerſity, about that time when thoſe matters were in agitation above. Cecyl, being a good and conſcientious man, had in this conference ſignified to him his earneſt deſire to hear and ſee what could be propoſed out of the holy Scripture in ſo unuſual an argument. To ſhew this, and to give alſo a ſhort view of his ſaid oration, becauſe the Secretary's infinite buſineſs would not allow him to read long diſcourſes, Wilſon ſoon after digeſted the contents thereof, reducing it into ſome ſyllogiſms and ratiocinations, more apt to urge, and eaſier to remember, and more accommodate to perſuade. Theſe, with his letter, he ſent to the Secretary. His ends herein were to ſatisfy him in this point, being a man of great ſtroke in the public tranſactions of thoſe times: who might accordingly uſe his intereſt and endeavour to retrieve what had been ſo unjuſtly taken from the church; that the famous ſchools lately diſſolved, to the great ruin of the Univerſity, might be reedified again; and that thoſe livings, which were miſerably ſpoiled by covetous patrons, might be reſtored, and enjoy their whole revenues, to the real honour of the ſtate. And, laſtly, that the hoſpitals, impoveriſhed or wholly beggared, might, by his means, be remedied and helped by the King's council; that they might revert to their former condition; that is, to ſuccour and help the poor. He urged moreover to Cecyl, that the deſtruction of ſchools would be the deſtruction of the uni-

CHAP. XXV.

The Univerſity-men declaim againſt it in the ſchools.

412

BOOK III.

verſities: and that all learning would ſoon ceaſe, and Popery and more than Gothic barbariſm would invade all, if learned men were not better taken care of than they were; and if the rewards of learning, *viz.* rectories, prebends, and all, were taken away from them.

And the redreſs urged upon ſome at court.

This man had alſo freely diſcourſed theſe matters to two other great and public-ſpirited men, *viz.* Goodrich, the Lord Chancellor, who was Biſhop of Ely; and Holgate, Archbiſhop of York: to both whom he had alſo given the names of a great many ſchools, parſonages, and hoſpitals, that had undergone this ſacrilegious uſage. And he particularly mentioned to Cecyl a town not far from Cambridge, called Childerlay, where a gentleman had pulled down all the houſes in the pariſh, except his own. And ſo, there being none to frequent the church, the inhabitants being gone, he uſed the ſaid church, partly for a ſtable for his horſes, and partly for a barn for his corn and ſtraw. This letter of Wilſon to the Secretary, together with his arguments againſt pilling the church ſubjoined, I have thought worthy preſerving in the repoſitory for ſuch monuments in the Appendix. But to return from this digreſſion, which Calvin's cenſure of our Archbiſhop occaſioned.

No. XCIII.

Calvin ſends letters, and certain of his books, to the King. Ep. 123.

And when, in the year 1551, he diſpatched into England one Nicolas, (that Nicolas Gallaſius, I ſuppoſe, who was afterward by Calvin recommended to be miniſter to the French congregation in London, at the deſire of Grindal, Biſhop of London, that he would ſend over ſome honeſt able perſon for that place,) with letters to the Duke of Somerſet, and likewiſe to the King; to whom he preſented alſo, at the ſame time, his book of Commentaries upon Eſay, and the Canonical Epiſtles, which he had dedicated to him; both the King's council, and the King himſelf, were much pleaſed and ſatisfied with this meſſage: and the Archbiſhop told Nicolas, "that Calvin could do nothing more profitable to the church, than to write often to the King." The ſubſtance of what he wrote to the King, that was ſo well taken, was to excite and ſharpen the generous parts of the royal youth, as Calvin hinted in a letter to Bullinger.

413.

Well taken by the King and council.

What the Archbiſhop told the meſſenger hereupon. Ep. 120.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Archbiſhop highly valued Peter Martyr.

AS for the learned Italian, Peter Martyr, who is worthy to be mentioned with Melanchthon and Calvin, there was not only an acquaintance between him and our Archbiſhop, but a great and cordial intimacy and friendſhip: for of him he made particular uſe in the ſteps he took in our reformation. And, whenſoever he might be ſpared from his public readings in Oxford, the Archbiſhop uſed to ſend for him, to confer with him about the weightieſt matters. This Calvin took notice of, and ſignified to him by letter how much he rejoiced that he made uſe of the counſels of that excellent man. And when the reformation of the eccleſiaſtical laws was in effect wholly devolved upon Cranmer, he appointed him, and Gualter Haddon, and Dr. Rowland Taylor, his chaplain, and no more, to manage that buſineſs: which ſhews what an opinion he had of Martyr's abilities, and how he ſerved himſelf of him in matters of the greateſt moment. And in that bold and brave challenge he made in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, to juſtify, againſt any man whatſoever, every part of King Edward's reformation; he nominated and made choice of Martyr therein to be one of his aſſiſtants in that diſputation, if any would undertake it with him. This divine, when he was forced to leave Oxford upon the change of religion, retreated firſt to the Archbiſhop at Lambeth; and from thence, when he had tarried as long as he durſt, he departed the realm to Straſburgh.

Peter Martyr and the Archbiſhop cordial friends.

The uſe the Archbiſhop made of him.

Ep. 127.

This man was he that ſaw and reported thoſe voluminous writings of this Archbiſhop, which he had collected out of all the ancient church-writers, upon all the heads of divinity; and thoſe notes of his own pen, that he had inſerted in the margin of his books: which the Archbiſhop communicated to him, when he converſed with him at his houſe. And from theſe, and ſuch-like of the Archbiſhop's labours, he acknowledged he had learned much, eſpecially in the doctrine of the ſacrament; as he writ in his epiſtle before his tract of the Euchariſt.

Martyr ſaw the voluminous writings and marginal notes of the Archbiſhop.

BOOK III.

The fame of Peter Martyr, and the defire of preferving all remains of fo learned a profeffor, and great an inftrument of the reformed religion, hath inclined me to put two of his letters into the Appendix, though otherwife not to our prefent purpofe; being originals, writ by his own hand from Oxon. The one to James Haddon, a learned court-divine, and Dean of Exon, to procure a licence from the King or the council for a friend and auditor of his to preach publickly. The other to Sir William Cecyl, to forward the payment of a falary due to him, that read the divinity-lecture in the room of Dr. Weſton, a Papiſt, who had claimed it himſelf, and laboured to detain it from him.

Two letters of Martyr from Oxford.

No. XCIV. XCV.

I cannot forbear mentioning here an inſtance of his love and great concern for our Archbiſhop, his old friend and patron, after the iniquity of the times had parted them; the one then in priſon, and the other at Straſburgh. It was in June 1555, when Queen Mary, ſuppoſing herſelf with child, was reported to have ſaid in her zeal, "That ſhe could never "be happily brought to bed, nor ſucceed well in any other "of her affairs, unleſs ſhe cauſed all the hereticks ſhe had "in priſon to be burnt, without ſparing ſo much as one." Which opinion, very likely, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, or ſome other of her zelotical chaplains, put into her head. This report coming to Martyr's ears, afflicted him greatly; not only for the deſtruction that was like ſuddenly to befall many holy profeſſors, but more eſpecially for the imminent hazard he apprehended that great and public perſon, the Archbiſhop, to be in. Which made him expreſs himſelf in this manner, in a letter to Peter Alexander, to whom that moſt reverend father had alſo formerly been a kind hoſt and patron; "That, from thoſe words of the Queen, he might "diſcover that my Lord of Canterbury was then in great "danger."

An inſtance of his love to the Archbiſhop.

Pet. Martyr. Ep. Theolog.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Archbiſhop's Favour to John Sleidan.

TO all theſe learned and religious outlandiſh men, to whom the Archbiſhop was either a patron or a friend, or both, we muſt not forget to join John Sleidan, the renowned author of thoſe exact Commentaries of the ſtate of religion, and the commonwealth in Germany, in the time of Charles V. About the end of March, anno 1551, he procured for him from King Edward an honorary penſion of two hundred crowns a year, as ſome aid for the carrying on his Commentaries, which he then was buſy about; and, as it ſeems, encouraged by Cranmer to take in hand and proſecute. And when Dr. Bruno, a learned man, and father-in-law to Sleidan, departed out of England, which was about the time before mentioned, being the agent of the Duke of Saxony, the Archbiſhop informed him of this ſtipend, by the King granted unto his ſon-in-law; confirming the ſame to him in the King's name, and encouraging the Commentator hereby to proceed cheerfully in his uſeful undertaking.

The Archbiſhop's favour to John Sleidan.

Procures him a penſion from the King.

But upon the ſirs at court, the payment of this penſion was neglected a great while: which cauſed Sleidan to call upon the Archbiſhop more than once, as alſo upon his friends Cheke and Cecyl; entreating them to remind the Archbiſhop of him, and to communicate to his Lordſhip the letters he had writ to them. But alas! he needed not to have been excited to things of this nature, bearing ſo good a will to them, and being of his own nature ſo forward to favour learned and honeſt men, and uſeful deſigns; nor was his good will to Sleidan any whit abated, but his intereſt at court was, now towards the declenſion of King Edward's reign.

The payment neglected.

But, becauſe his penſion depended only upon a verbal promiſe of the King, and the getting it under his ſeal might contribute to the payment of it in better ſort hereafter, he laboured with our Prelate, and the two other perſons mentioned, that it might be confirmed by letters patents. He

Sleidan labours with the Archbiſhop to procure the penſion to be confirmed by letters patents.

BOOK III.

urged to them, "that he could have employed himſelf in "other buſineſs, that would have redounded more to his "profit, as many others did. But he reckoned himſelf "called to this work from heaven, and that he could take "no reſt in his mind till he had brought the hiſtory down "to that preſent time; (it being then the year 1553.) That "he had hope, that they, according to their humanity and "prudence, who well underſtood things, would take ſome "pains that the arrears of his promiſed ſtipend might be "paid, and that ſome further care might be taken for the "due payment of it hereafter, that ſo he might the more "conveniently and freely follow that matter. Leaving it "to them to conſider how much that labour coſt him:" [as to the charges, he means, of correſpondence for the getting particular and faithful accounts of things, that paſſed in all parts.] And laſtly, "That it belonged properly to kings to "cheriſh ſuch labours as would be ornaments to religion "and learning, and of uſe to the common good." And, in another addreſs to Secretary Cecyl, he deſired, "that he "would plead in his behalf with the moſt reverend the "Archbiſhop;" adding, "that he did wholly give up him-"ſelf to this work, and was in a diligent purſuit of all mat-"ters in order to the compiling a complete hiſtory."

Though I have ſaid ſo much already of Sleidan, yet I will take this occaſion to add ſomewhat more; that I may retrieve as much as I can of this honeſt man, and excellent writer. In the month of September, anno 1552, he ſent to the King, together with a letter, his Commentaries of the German Wars, brought down to that very time: being a ſhort draught of that he intended afterwards more largely and fully to write. And Cheke and Cecyl were the men that preſented them to his Majeſty. With this kind of writing the King declared himſelf much pleaſed, as Cecyl wrote him back; and ſo he and Cheke alſo were.

Sends his Commentaries to the King.

This encouragement put our Author upon another deſign, reſolving to write the whole actions of the council of Trent: wherein he himſelf had been a part, having been agent there for five months from the city of Straſburg. This he intended to do for the King's own ſake: that he might thoroughly underſtand the form of councils, and might then

Deſigns to write the hiſtory of the Council of Trent.

For the King's uſe.

CHAP. XXVII.

make his judgment of the reſt of the Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion, which he was then writing.

The ſpring after he preſented the King with a ſpecimen of his writing concerning the council of Trent. It was the beginning and entrance into that treatiſe he intended to write of that ſubject. This he deſired might be kept in the King's ſtudy, and communicated to no other hand; and that no copy of it might be taken, it being but a ſmall part of a future work, and ſo imperfect. Anno 1553. ſends the King a ſpecimen thereof. 416

He had now, in the ides of March, completed his Commentaries from the year 1517 to the year 1536; and was reſolved, by God's grace, to go on with it in the ſame method. In order to which, in the month of December before, he had deſired of Cecyl, that he would procure him the whole action between King Henry VIII. and Pope Clement VII. when that King vindicated his own liberty, and that of his kingdom, from papal pretences of ſupremacy over each. This matter between the King and the Pope he called, "*locus illuſtris et memorabilis*, and judged it very worthy for "poſterity to know. Adding, that though he had in his "own hands ſome matters relating thereto, yet they were "not ſo exact and certain as he could wiſh; becauſe he de- "ſired to deſcribe every thing properly and moſt exactly ac- "cording to truth. He entreated alſo, that if either he or "Cheke had any other matters of that nature to impart, "they would oblige him with them." Which paſſages make me conclude that, in relation to the Engliſh affairs, he made great uſe of intelligences from Cecyl and Cheke, and probably our Archbiſhop too. Which conſideration may add a great reputation unto the credit of his book. In order to the proceeding with his Commentaries, deſires Cecyl to ſend him the whole action between King Henry VIII. and Pope Clement VII.

Now, to preſerve as much as we can of this excellent hiſtorian, John Sleidan, I have thought good to inſert divers of his letters in the Appendix; and likewiſe becauſe mention is often therein made of our Archbiſhop: to which I have ſubjoined a letter of Martin Bucer, a great name, wrote to Cecyl in behalf of the ſaid Sleidan. For he did not only importune thoſe courtiers before mentioned, but, when no anſwer came from them, he made Bucer alſo his ſolicitor from Cambridge: who, anno 1551, Feb. 18, wrote to Cecyl to further Sleidan's buſineſs, and to diſ- Bucer writes to Cecyl in behalf of Sleidan. Nos. XCVI. XCVII. XCVIII. XCIX. C. CI. CII.

BOOK III.

patch the payment of his ſtipend; and that Sleidan might be reſolved one way or other; giving Cecyl this memento, that "this would well become the adminiſtration of a kingdom "ſo much adorned as with other things, ſo with the benefit "of religion." By the way, the date of this letter would deſerve well to be noted, ſerving to judge of the true date of Bucer's death: which by hiſtorians is variouſly ſet down, if we may believe Fuller in his Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge. It is certain Bucer was ill when he wrote that letter to Cecyl; for he mentions therein an epiſtle, which he ſent to Dr. John Quercetanus the phyſician, upon the ſaid Cecyl's deſire, the which, he ſaid, he was hardly able to dictate. This letter to Cecyl I take to be writ in his laſt ſickneſs, nine days before the date which Sleidan his friend aſſigned for the day of his death. To which agrees, within a day, a paſſage at the end of a piece of Bucer's, intituled, *Explicatio de vi et uſu S. Miniſterii*; where it is ſaid, "that "he died at Cambridge before he finiſhed it. *Pridie Cal.* "*Martias*, anno 1551."

Feb. 27. 1551.

Scripta Anglic.

John Leland.

I have one learned man more behind to mention, and he our own countryman; to whom our Archbiſhop was a patron; and that is the celebrated antiquarian John Leland, library-keeper to Henry VIII. and who, by a commiſſion under the broad-ſeal, granted to him for that purpoſe by the King, had got together a vaſt heap of collections of the hiſtorical antiquities of this nation: which he was many years a making by his travels and diligent ſearches into the libraries of abbeys and religious houſes, before, and at their diſſolution, and elſewhere. From whence he intended to compile a complete hiſtory of the antiquities of Britain; to which he wholly devoted himſelf. But being at that time poor, and the charges of ſuch an undertaking great, he wanted ſomebody to make this known to the King, and to recommend him effectually to his favour and countenance; and to procure him a royal gratuity: for which purpoſe he made his application to Cranmer, (who, he well knew, was the great encourager of learning and ingenuity,) in a very elegant addreſs in verſe, as he was an excellent poet. And, I am apt to think, the preferments that ſoon after befel him, as a good parſonage near Oxford, and a canonry of the

417

King's college in that Univerſity, and a prebendſhip elſewhere, accrued to him by the means of the Archbiſhop, laying open his ſtate before the King. His copy of verſes were as follow: CHAP. XXVII.

Ad Thomam Cranmerum Cantiorum Archiepiſcopum.

EST congeſta mihi domi ſupellex,
Ingens, aurea, nobilis, venuſta,
Qua totus ſtudeo Britanniarum
Vero reddere gloriam nitori.
Sed fortuna meis noverca cœptis,
Jam felicibus invidet maligna.
Quare ne pereant brevi vel hora
Multarum mihi noctium labores,
Omnes, et patriæ ſimul decora
Ornamenta cadant, ſuuſque ſplendor
Antiquis male defit uſque rebus,
Cranmere, eximium decus piorum,
Implorare tuam benignitatem
Cogor. Fac igitur tuo fueto
Pro candore, meum decus, patronumque,
Ut tantum faveat, roges, labori
Incœpto: pretium ſequetur amplum.
Sic nomen tibi litteræ elegantes
Recte perpetuum dabunt, ſuoſque
Partim vel titulos tibi receptos
Concedet memori Britannus ore.
Sic te poſteritas amabit omnis,
Et fama ſuper æthera innoteſces,

CHAP. XXVIII.

Archbiſhop Cranmer's Relations and Chaplains.

TO look now a little into the Archbiſhop's more private and domeſtic concerns. He had two wives. While he was fellow of Jeſus College in Cambridge, not being in orders, His wives and children.

BOOK III. he married his firſt, named Joan, dwelling at the Dolphin, oppoſite to Jeſus-lane, which I think is a public houſe to this day: which occaſioned ſome of his enemies afterwards to ſay, "That he was once an oſtler," becauſe he lodged ſometime with his wife at that houſe. Her he buried within a year, dying in child-bed. And then for divers years he continued ſtudying hard, and reading learned lectures in the univerſity, and bringing up youth, till he was called to the court. His ſecond wife, named Ann, he married in Germany, while he was ambaſſador there. By her he had children. In King Henry's reign he kept her
418 ſecret; and, upon the act of the ſix Articles, he ſent her away into Germany, that he might give no offence, nor draw any danger upon himſelf. In the time of King Edward, when the marriage of the clergy was allowed, he brought her forth, and lived openly with her. He had children that ſurvived him; for whoſe ſake an act of parliament paſſed in the year 1562, to reſtore them in blood, their father having been condemned for treaſon in conſenting to the Lady Jane's ſucceſſion to the crown: for which yet he was pardoned by Queen Mary. Probably the pardon was only verbal, or not authentickly enough drawn up, or might admit of ſome doubt: to take off which ſuch an act was procured. How many children he had, or what iſſue remains of them to this day, I am not able, after all my inquiries, to ſhew.

His wife ſurvived him.

His wife ſurvived him: for we may give ſo much credit to a very angry book, writ againſt the *Execution of Juſtice in England*, by Cardinal Allen; which, charging the Archbiſhop with breach of vows, faith, "that, at the very day "and hour of his death, he was ſacrilegiouſly joined in "pretended marriage to a woman, notwithſtanding his vow "and order." And living ſhe was toward the latter end of Archbiſhop Parker's time; and for her ſubſiſtence enjoyed an abbey in Nottinghamſhire: which King Henry, upon Dr. Butts his motion, without the Archbiſhop's knowledge, granted to him and his heirs.

Sincere and modeſt Defence of Engliſh Catholicks.

MS. Life of Cranmer in Benet College.

Divers Cranmers.

For his wife and children he could not eſcape many a taunt from his enemies behind his back; and one to his face from Dr. Martin, one of thoſe that were commiſſionated to

CHAP. XXVIII.

fit as judges upon him at Oxford. He told him in reproach, "that his children were bondmen to the fee of Canter- "bury." Whether there be any fuch old canon law, I know not: but the Archbifhop fmiled, and afked him, "If "a prieft at his benefice kept a concubine, and had children "by her, whether thofe children were bondmen to the "benefice, or no? And that he trufted they would make "his children's cafe no worfe." I find two of his name in King Edward's reign; but whether they were his, or his brother Edmund's, fons, or fome other relations, I cannot tell. There was one Richard Cranmer, one of the witneffes at the abjuration of Afhton, prieft, an Arian, 1548. Daniel Cranmer of Bilfington, of the diocefe of Canterbury, who, about adminiftering to a will, was, for contumacy to the court of Canterbury, excommunicate: and a *fignificavit* was iffued out againft him thereupon, in the year 1552. There was alfo a Thomas Cranmer about thefe times, who bought fomething in Ware-lane of the city of Canterbury: he was public notary, and regifter to the Archdeacon in the year 1569. I find likewife one Robert Cranmer, Efq. who was nephew to the Archbifhop, and alive at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth. This Robert left one only daughter and heirefs, named Ann; whom Sir Arthur Harris, of Crixey in Effex, married, and enjoyed with her three manors: Poftling, which came to the faid Robert in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth; Kingfnorth in Ulcomb, and Saltwood; both which he purchafed in the latter end of that Queen: upon whofe grandchild, Sir Cranmer Harris, of Lincoln's Inn, Kt. thofe eftates defcended. There was another Cranmer of Canterbury, who enjoyed a manor called Sapinton, in Petham in Kent: one of whofe offspring by defcent fucceffively was entitled to the propriety of it, and was alive when Philpot publifhed his book of that county, *viz.* 1659. There be living at this time, among divers others, two knights of this name, Sir Cefar Cranmer, once belonging to the court; and Sir William Cranmer, a worthy merchant of London, and now Deputy-governor of the Hamburgh company.

Cranm. Regift.

Sumner's Ant.

419

Philpot's Villar. Cantian.

But, if we look backward, the Archbifhop's ftock and pedigree was very ancient, and of good credit. His father was Thomas Cranmer of Aflacton in Nottinghamfhire,

The Archbifhop's ftock.

BOOK III.

Eſquire; and his mother was Agnes, the daughter of Laurence Hatfield of Willoughby, of like degree, a gentleman, if I miſtake not, of the ſame county. Which two had iſſue three ſons; John, and Thomas our Archbiſhop, and Edmund, who was the Archdeacon: and four daughters; Dorothy, Ann, Jane, and Iſabel. Which ſiſters of our Archbiſhop were thus matched: Dorothy to Harold Roſel of Radcliff in this county, Eſquire; Ann to Edmund Cartwright of Oſſington in Staffordſhire, Eſquire; Jane to John Moning, Lieutenant of Dover Caſtle; and Iſabel to Sir .... Shepey, Knight. Matches, I ſuppoſe, eſpecially the two latter, of the Archbiſhop's own making, for the preferment of his ſiſters. His elder brother John married Jone, daughter of Fretchvile, of a good family in the ſame county: whoſe grandchild Thomas, and grand-nephew to our Archbiſhop, had none but daughters; one of whom, being a coheir, married John Roſel, grandchild to Harold aforeſaid, and the other to good families in thoſe parts.

Aſlacton.

The Archbiſhop's great grandfather, Edmund, married Iſabel, daughter and heir of William de Aſlacton, a very ancient family. This Edmund was alive in the reign of Henry VI.

Whatton.

In the church of Whatton, in this county, is an ancient monument of an anceſtor of our Archbiſhop, with this inſcription; *Hic jacet Thomas Cranmerus. Qui obiit 27 Maii, 1501. Cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.* And on the monument the coat of arms of the Cranmers; being a chevron between three cranes, quartered with thoſe of the Aſlactons, Newmarches, Whattons, and two families more. This might probably enough be the Archbiſhop's father.

The rectories whereof the Archbiſhop purchaſed.

The Archbiſhop, in the firſt year of King Edward VI. purchaſed of that King the rectories of Whatton and Aſlacton, (the manors whereof belonged to his family before,) with the advowſons of the churches: both which had pertained to the diſſolved monaſtery of Welbeck. Which rectories the Archbiſhop, as it ſeems, made over to his nephew Thomas, ſon to his brother John: for he died ſeiſed of them both; and they deſcended to his ſon and heir Thomas. The manors of the ſaid Whatton and Aſlacton are now come into the noble family of Dorcheſter: the tithes and glebe

to the Armſtrongs of Scarrington. For theſe collections I am beholden to Thoroton's Hiſtory of Nottinghamſhire. CHAP. XXVIII.

And now, in the laſt place, let us look into the Archbiſhop's domeſtic affairs. He took great heed to the well-government of his family, that all things there might beſeem the houſe of a truly chriſtian Biſhop, and the chief ſpiritual governor of the Engliſh church. And, in order to this, one of his cares was to have learned men about him: a few whereof, as I could retrieve them, I ſhall here mention, and give ſome account of. And firſt let us begin with his chaplains. His chaplains.

I can find but a few of them: but men they were of great parts and achievements in learning, as well as piety. One of them was Rowland Taylor, doctor of both laws, and preferred by the Archbiſhop to be Parſon of Hadley in Suffolk: who ſealed his doctrine with his blood. An extraordinary man, both for his learning, as well as his bold and brave profeſſion of Chriſt's religion, even to the fiery trial. He had read over (which was rare in thoſe days) all St. Auguſtine's works, St. Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Euſebius, Origen, and divers other fathers. He profeſſed the civil law, and had read over the canon law alſo: as he told the Lord Chancellor Gardiner, when in his ſcorn and rage together he called him an *ignorant beetle-brow*. The Archbiſhop made uſe of him in his affairs: and he was one of thoſe that were joined with him, in King Edward's days, for making a reformation in the eccleſiaſtical laws. Soon after he was inveſted in his benefice, leaving the Archbiſhop's family, he went and reſided, like a careful paſtor, and performed among his pariſhioners all the parts of an excellent miniſter, in reſpect of his doctrine, example, and charity. He was ſent down to his own pariſh of Hadley, where he was extremely beloved, to be burnt. But I refer the reader to the large and full account that Fox gives of him in his book of Acts and Monuments; and ſhall only recite his epitaph, as it now remaineth, or lately did, in a braſs plate hanging in the church of Hadley, where he deſerved ſo well. Rowland Taylor.

Gloria in altiſſimis Deo.

His epitaph.

OF Rowland Taylor's fame I ſhow, an excellent divine,
A doctor of the civil law, a preacher rare and fine.
King Henry and King Edward's days, preacher and parſon here,
That gave to God continual praiſe, and kept his flock in fear.
And for the truth condemn'd to die he was in fire and flame,
Where he received patiently the torment of the ſame:
And ſtrongly ſuffer'd to the end. Which made the ſtanders by
Rejoice in God, to ſee their friend and paſtor ſo to die.
O Taylor! were thy mighty fame uprightly here enroll'd,
Thy deeds deſerve that thy good name were cipher'd here in gold.

Obiit 1555.

And in Aldham-common, not far from Hadley town, is a great ſtone, that aſſigns the place where he ſuffered, and on it are written theſe words, or to this effect;

Dr. Taylor, for maintaining what was good,
In this place ſhed his blood.

421 His living was immediately ſupplied by one Newal: and, to deſerve his preferment, or by commandment, perhaps, from above, to render their taking away Dr. Taylor the more juſtifiable, he made a ſermon February 10, 1555, being the day next after he ſuffered, upon this text; *Sic currite, ut comprehendatis.* His work was to perſuade the people to return to the old ſuperſtitions, and to beſpatter the martyr with falſe reports. And, meeting with a writing that containeth the ſum of this ſermon, I will crave leave here to inſert it; to give a ſpecimen of popiſh preaching in theſe days.

A ſermon preached the day after his burning.

Inter Foxii MSS.

Wherein the martyr is groſsly ſlandered.

"He exhorted to run in the ſtrait way, and leave the wide "gate; *viz.* to leave the new-found learning, and but *new-*"*found* indeed, and follow all one religion. For ye were "(ſaid he) erroneouſly taught by ſuch men as died yeſter-

" day: of whom I will ſpeak, but for no malice, as God I take to record. CHAP. XXVIII.

" His opinions were, wherefore he died, one, that prieſts " might have wives: the other, that in the ſacrament was " not the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt ſub- " ſtantially and really.

" The firſt, that prieſts ſhould have wives, he could prove " by no Scripture, but by three other authors. And he " was demaunded, if he were willing to ſtand to the laſt? " He anſwered, Yea, before God. Then the book laid afore " him, and read to him in Latin and Engliſh: and he, read- " ing the Engliſh of it himſelf, ſaid he would read the Latin; " and ſo did, and confuted himſelf. And ſtood then as " amazed; as can witneſs five hundred.

" And I dare ſay there were a thouſand texts reherſed to " him to the contrary: but he could anſwer not to one. " And ſo had divers admonitions, but was ſo ſtubborn in his " own conceit, according to Paul's ſaying, *Si ſit homo ſec-* " *tum, Let him be admoniſhed once or twice;* and ſo hath " he been. *If he will not turn, let him be caſt out*: and ſo " he is now. For better were it ſo to do, then to put many " ſouls in danger with evil doctrine.

" And one text I will declare to you for prieſts having " wives. St. Paul, when he was tempted, rid to our Saviour " Chriſt, and aſked what remedy were for temptation, for " his temptation? but whether it were of luſt of the fleſh, " or vain-glory, I cannot tell; but let that go to the opinion " of men. And Chriſt anſwered, *Why, Paul, is not my* " *grace ſufficient for thee?* But he did not ſay, Take a wife, " and let that be thy remedy, But they ſtrait take a drab " by the tail, ſaying, That no man can live chaſt without the " gift of God.

" And as concerning the ſacrament, to prove it, he " brought Paul in the end of the firſt to the Corinthians, " Luke, John, ſixth of Mark. And it is not to be called " the *Supper of the Lord*, as theſe Banbury gloſers have " called it. For *cœnâ factâ*, he ſaid, *This is my body*, which " is, or ſhall be, betrayed. And in one text Cyprian, one " of the primitive church, ſaid in a ſermon of the ſupper,

BOOK III.

" *The bread which Chriſt gave to his diſciples, by the omnipo-*
" *tency of the word, is made fleſh.* And Dionyſius and Hilary
" *ſimiliter.*

" To err is a ſmall fault, but to perſevere is a deviliſh
422 " thing: for it moveth many minds to ſee an heretick
" conſtant, and to die. But it is not to be mervelled at: for
" the Devil hath power over ſoul and body. For he cauſeth
" men to drown and hang themſelves at their own wills:
" much more he may cauſe a man to burn; ſeeing he is
" tied, and cannot fly. Barnabe ſaith ſo. Cyprian, *unus*
" *clericorum*, ſaith, That grievous is the fault of diſcord in
" Chriſt's church, and cannot be cleanſed with burning, or
" any other ſacrifice. *Ergo*, damned.

" For ſure he died in damnable caſe, if he did not other-
" wiſe repent in the hour of pain. For though he did burn
" in this caſe, he ſheweth himſelf a chriſtian man no other-
" wiſe than the Devil ſheweth himſelf like Chriſt: and ſo
" maketh no end of a martyr. Auſtin ſaith, *He that will*
" *deny the church to be his mother, God will deny him to be*
" *his ſon.* And ſo Pope Julius the third prayed for, &c." He made an end for lack of his books, becauſe, he ſaid, he was but new come, and brought not his books with him.

" Item, laſt, the perſon being laboured by the way, to
" have left his opinion, anſwered, Alas! what would you
" have me to do? Once I have recanted, and my living is
" gone. I am but a wretch: make an end of me. And, I
" warrant you, ſaid not one word at his death, more than
" deſired the people to pray for him. Which was no token
" of a chriſtian, but of ſtubbornneſs. But I am glad that
" ye were ſo quiet."

A right popiſh ſermon, patched up of ignorance, malice, uncharitableneſs, lies, and improbabilities. That he had no Scripture to produce for himſelf. That his adverſaries had a thouſand againſt him. That he ſhould be willing to ſtand to a quotation out of a father, and know no better what it was, as, when he ſaw it, to be ſo confounded and amazed. That if he were ſo convinced and ſpeechleſs, that he ſhould be ſo ſtupid and ſenſeleſs to ſuffer death, for matters which he ſaw were not true. But ſuch a character was here given

of him, as was no ways agreeable to the great learning, wiſdom, and piety, that this excellent man was endued with. CHAP. XXVIII.

John Ponet, or Poinet, a Kentiſh man, and of Queen's College, Cambridge, was another of his chaplains; a very ingenious as well as learned man: afterward Biſhop of Rocheſter, and then of Wincheſter. A great friend to that accompliſhed ſcholar, Roger Aſcham; who, in confidence of his friendſhip, writ to him, when domeſtic chaplain to the Archbiſhop, to deliver his letter, and forward his ſuit to his Grace, to diſpenſe with him from eating fiſh, and keeping Lent, as was mentioned before. He was of great authority with Cranmer, and of his council in matters of divinity. We may judge of his great abilities by what Godwin ſpeaks of him, *viz.* "That he had left divers writings in Latin and Eng- "liſh: and that, beſides the Greek and Latin, he was well "ſeen in the Italian and Dutch tongues. [Which laſt he "learned probably in his exile.] That he was an excellent "mathematician, and gave unto King Henry VIII. a dial of "his own deviſe; ſhewing not only the hour of the day, but "alſo the day of the month, the ſign of the ſun, the plane- "tary hour; yea, the change of the moon, the ebbing and "flowing of the ſea, with divers other things as ſtrange, to "the great wonder of the King, and his no leſs commenda- "tion." And he was as eminent for his gift in preaching as for his other qualifications, being preferred by King Edward for ſome excellent ſermons preached before him. One of our hiſtorians writes, that he was with Sir Thomas Wyat in his inſurrection: and, after his defeat, fled into Germany, where, in the city of Straſburgh, he died about the year 1556. But Bale ſpeaks not a word of his being with Wyat; but that he died, being forty years of age, buried at Straſburgh, and attended honourably to his grave with abundance of learned men and citizens. John Ponet. 423 Stow.

Thomas Becon, a Suffolk man, ſeems to have been his chaplain. To Cranmer Becon dedicated his treatiſe of Faſting: wherein he mentioned ſeveral benefits he had received from the Archbiſhop: one whereof was, his making him one of the ſix preachers of Canterbury. He was deprived in Queen Mary's reign, as all the other five were, for Tho. Becon.

BOOK III.

being married. He was a famous writer, as well as preacher, in the reigns of King Henry, King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. So eminent, that he was one of the three (Vernon and Bradford being the other two) that were ſent for by Queen Mary's council, and committed to the Tower in the beginning of her reign, *viz.* Auguſt 16, 1553: from whence he was not delivered till March 22. following. During which time, as he complained himſelf, he underwent a miſerable impriſonment. To conceal himſelf in thoſe dangerous times, he went by the name of Theodore Baſil: and was one of thoſe authors, whoſe names were ſpecified in a ſevere proclamation put forth by King Philip and Queen Mary, 1555, as being writers of books, which, as contrary to the Pope and Roman catholick religion, were forbidden to be brought into England, or uſed, and commanded diligently to be ſearched for, and brought to the ordinary, upon penalty of the ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt hereſy. After his delivery from priſon, ſkulking about for ſome time, at length he ſaved himſelf by exile.

He was a man mightily toſſed about. For to look upon him, before this, in King Henry's reign; then, for his ſecurity, he was forced to leave his friends and country, wandering as far as Darbyſhire, and the Peak: where he privately taught ſchool for a ſubſiſtence. And, coming a mere ſtranger into Alſop in the Dale, one Mr. Alſop, a pious man in that barbarous country, ſhewed him great civility. Afterwards he travelled into Staffordſhire, where he alſo educated children in good literature, and inſtilled into their minds the principles of chriſtian doctrine. After a year's tarrying there, and in Leiceſterſhire, he flitted into Warwickſhire, where he taught alſo divers gentlemen's ſons, and where he met with old father Latimer, to his great joy, who had firſt made him acquainted with the Goſpel, when he was a ſcholar in Cambridge, twenty years before. He wrote a great many books, forty in number, ſuited to the various occaſions of chriſtians, both in the perſecutions under Queen Mary, and the free profeſſion and reſtoration of the Goſpel under King Edward and Queen Elizabeth: and many more againſt the religion of the Roman church. All theſe did this learned and painful author compoſe for the

benefit of the profeſſors of religion: whereby he did ſuch ſervice to the enlightening of men's minds in the knowledge of the truth, and for the expoſing the corruptions of Popery, that it was thought convenient that ſome of that communion ſhould be employed to write againſt him. And ſo Richard Smith, ſometime reader of divinity in Oxon, and one that had ſubſcribed to the reformed religion, and after fled into Brabant, and became a zealous aſſerter of Popery, writ in a bitter ſtyle againſt ſome of Becon's books, as he had done againſt the Archbiſhop himſelf before. CHAP. XXVIII. 1564

I find this Becon put up to preach one of the Lent ſermons at St. Paul's Croſs, in the year 1566. And ſuch then was his fame for a preacher, and ſuch his favour with the greateſt prelates, that the Lord Mayor for that year ſent a meſſage to Archbiſhop Parker, that his Grace would prevail with him to preach one of the ſermons at the Spittle that Eaſter.

In the year 1564. he reviſed and reprinted all his former books in three volumes; dedicating the whole to all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the realm. And, in commendation thereof, Parkhurſt, Biſhop of Norwich, wrote theſe verſes to him:

Vidi et perlegi doctos, Becone, Libellos,
Quos tua non pridem Sancta Minerva dedit.
Diſpeream, ſiquid legi unquam ſanctius, aut ſi
Quid potuit populo tradier utilius.
Auſpice perge Deo tales vulgare Libellos:
Vaniloquax ſed nec lingua timenda tibi eſt.
Sic Chriſtum poſſis avido inculcare popello,
Sic poſſis nomen condecorare tuum.

Beſides theſe, there was his Poſtil, being godly and learned ſermons on all the Sunday-Goſpels in the year: printed in quarto in the year 1567.

I ſhall ſay no more of his chaplains, after I ſhall have mentioned Richard Harman. Who ſeems to have been one of his firſt chaplains; being once of King's College, but went away ſcholar, (probably for religion;) afterwards lived in Jeſus College, and commenced maſter of arts with Cran- Richard Harman.

BOOK III.

mer: whom he alſo preferred to be his domeſtic afterwards. This man was one of thoſe Cambridge men that were elected into St. Frideſwide's College in Oxon; and ſuffered much there for religion. He was afterwards a Canon of Windſor; but fell back to Popery.

CHAP. XXIX.

Archbiſhop Cranmer's Officers.

I SHALL now add a few words of two of his civil officers: his ſteward and his ſecretary. One Nevyl was his ſteward in King Henry's reign; who conducted Sir Thomas Seimour, coming with a meſſage from the King, through the hall, when the tables were ſumptuouſly ſet, unto the Archbiſhop at dinner: him I have nothing to ſay of. But he had another afterwards, named Robert Watſon, born in Norwich, of whom I have a word or two to ſay. He was a great civilian, and an exile for religion in Queen Mary's reign. But, before his eſcape beyond ſea, he lay in priſon in Norwich a year and four months, ſaith Bale; almoſt two years, ſaith Fox: and then was moſt fortunately delivered, without doing any violence to his conſcience, by the ſubſcription which he made. Being abroad, he wrote a piece, intituled, *Ætiologia, to all that ſincerely profeſſed Chriſt, whereſoever diſperſed, eſpecially his Countrymen, the Engliſh, baniſhed with him.* In this tract he gave a relation of himſelf, and his impriſonment, and eſcape; and of the diſputes that happened between him and his adverſaries concerning tranſubſtantiation, and the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament; and by what means he eſcaped ſafe in body and conſcience: which was a rare matter to do from ſuch inquiſitors. It was propounded to him to ſet his hand to theſe words; *viz.* "That he believed and confeſſed that the bread and wine "in the Euchariſt, through the omnipotency of God's "Word, pronounced by the prieſt, were turned into the "body and blood of Chriſt; and after conſecration, under "the forms of bread and wine, remained the true body and

Robert Watſon, the Archbiſhop's ſteward.

CHAP. XXIX.

"blood of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtance." To which he made this ſubſcription; *His omnibus eatenus aſſentior et ſubſcribo, quatenus Verbo Dei nituntur, eoque ſenſu, quo ſunt ab Eccleſia Catholica et a ſanctis Patribus intellecta.* By the means of one Dr. Barret, a learned friar of Norwich, he was upon this favourable ſubſcription diſmiſſed. But Chriſtopherſon, Dean of Norwich, when he underſtood it, was much incenſed, and laid out to take him again. But he, by the help of friends, eſcaped over the ſeas.

His ſecretary, Ralph Morice.

Now, laſtly, of Ralph Morice his ſecretary, ſo much employed, and ſo greatly entruſted by our Archbiſhop, it may not be amiſs to ſet down a few memorials. He was his ſecretary, not ſo much for ordinary matters incident to his archiepiſcopal office, as his amanuenſis for learned treatiſes and diſcourſes which he compoſed. In this place he remained for twenty years; that is, from the Archbiſhop's firſt entrance upon his ſee, to the death of King Edward VI. his good maſter. He was a very conſiderable perſon, and of good birth, being the ſon of James Morice of Royden in the county of Eſſex, Eſq. Which James was ſometime ſervant unto the Lady Margaret, Counteſs of Richmond and Derby, and clerk of her kitchen, and maſter of her works; and particularly of Chriſt's College and St. John's in Cambridge, both which ſhe founded. He alſo and his ſon William were joint receivers of the lands, called Richmond Lands; and other lands, called the Recovered Lands.

His parentage.

Well known to divers eminent biſhops.

Our Ralph, by reaſon of his ſervice about the Archbiſhop, was well known to Biſhop Heth, Biſhop Thirlby, Biſhop Cox, Biſhop Barlow, and Biſhop Scory; men that were much about the Archbiſhop, and his friends: and who were privy to thoſe volumes that the ſecretary writ out for his maſter. He dwelt ſometime in Chartham, not far from Canterbury; and had the farm of that parſonage, and the nomination of the curate. And, being a man of conſcience and integrity, endeavoured to procure here an honeſt and able preacher; and ſo preſented to the church one Richard Turner, a man of an irreprehenſible life, and well learned in the holy Scriptures: who, for his doctrine againſt the popiſh ſuperſtition, and the Pope's ſupremacy, met with great troubles. But his patron very ſtiffly ſtood by him,

Preſents Turner to Chartham.

426

BOOK III.

and procured the Archbiſhop to favour him: and, having an intereſt with Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Butts, courtiers, he wrote Mr. Turner's caſe at large to them, and got them to read his letter before the King. Who, though before he had been by ſiniſter reports ſo incenſed againſt him, as to command him to be whipped out of the country, now by this means he conceived better thoughts of him, and commanded him to be cheriſhed as a good ſubject; as I have before more at large related.

And ſtands by him in his troubles for his faithful preaching.

Another paſſage I meet with of this man relates to the kindneſs of the Archbiſhop his maſter to him: who, in token of his good will he bore him, and of his readineſs to reward his diligence and faithfulneſs in his ſervice, did procure him a leaſe of the parſonage of Oſpring in Kent, being an impropriation belonging unto St. John's College in Cambridge, worth better than forty marks by the year *de claro*, when wheat was but a noble the quarter. This the Archbiſhop got a grant of from the ſaid college for him. But, when the leaſe was prepared, and ready to be ſealed, one Hawkins of the guard, by his importunate ſuit, got King Henry VIII. to obtain it of the college to be ſealed for the uſe of him the ſaid Hawkins. The Archbiſhop then ſolicited the King in his ſervant's behalf, and the King promiſed him, and alſo Dr. Day, the Maſter of the college, that he would otherwiſe recompenſe Morice for the ſame, with like value or better. Which was never done, the King dying before he did any thing for him.

An inſtance of the Archbiſhop's kindneſs to this his Secretary.

This cauſed Morice to prefer a ſupplication unto Queen Elizabeth, ſetting forth his ſaid caſe, and deſiring therefore her liberality, aid, and ſuccour; eſpecially conſidering, that her royal father had in his will provided, that all ſuch who had ſuſtained any manner of damage or hinderance by him ſhould be ſatisfied for the ſame: ſuing therefore to her Majeſty for a penſion, that had been allowed unto one Wilbore, late Prior of the monaſtery of St. Auguſtine's, lately deceaſed, that it might be conferred upon him during his life. And indeed he ſeemed now, in his old age, to have need of ſome ſuch favour, his condition being but mean according to worldly things, and having four daughters all marriageable, and not wherewithal to beſtow them according to

Morice his ſuit to Queen Elizabeth for a penſion.

their quality. This his poverty he urged to the Queen, and that the granting him this penſion would be a good further- CHAP. XXIX.
ance of his ſaid daughters' marriage.

His ſecond ſuit to the Queen to confirm certain lands deſcended to him from his father.

The ſame perſon had ſome lands deſcended to him from James his father out of two manors, the one called Royden Manor, and the other called the Temple, both ſituate and lying in the pariſh of Royden. His ſaid father, upon ſome certain reaſons and agreements, ſurrendered two long leaſes of both theſe manors into King Henry VIII. his hands. In conſideration of which, and of long and true ſervices, the ſaid King did give, except, and reſerve certain tenements, lands, paſtures, and meadows, out of the ſaid two lordſhips, to the uſe of the ſaid James and his heirs and aſſigns for ever, as appeared by his letters patents. And James did enjoy them peaceably and quietly, without any moleſtation, until his 127
death; which was in the ſecond year of Queen Mary. But of late the leaſes of the manors being ſold away unto others, they laid claim and title unto the ſaid reſerved lands, upon the information of one Thurgood, ſteward of the courts there; pretending that there were not words ſufficient in the ſaid letters patents to juſtify the ſaid exceptions. This occaſioned Ralph Morice the ſon, who enjoyed ſome of the copyholds within the ſaid exceptions, to ſue unto the Queen for her Majeſty's letters patents, to ratify and confirm the ſaid exceptions, that the King's godly diſpoſition, intent, and meaning might be in force to James Morice's heirs and aſſigns for ever.

What ſucceſs he had in this and the former petition, I find not; but am ready to think the Queen gratified him in both, as well for his own merits, as out of that high reſpect ſhe bore to the memory of our incomparable Prelate, whoſe ſervant he had ſo long been, and for whoſe ſake he recommended himſelf and his ſuit to her. I have inſerted the former of theſe ſupplications in the Appendix, being an ori- No. CIII.
ginal of Morice's own hand-writing, and containing ſome memorable paſſages in it.

He was Regiſter to the commiſſioners in King Edward's viſitation.

This man was, by the Archbiſhop's means, appointed a Regiſter in King Edward VI. his viſitation, which was in the ſecond year of his reign; the articles whereof were drawn up by the Archbiſhop, and preſerved to us in Biſhop Spar-

BOOK III.

row's Collections. And, being ready to depart with the King's commiſſioners, the Archbiſhop ſent for him to Hampton Court, and willed him to make notes of certain matters in the ſaid viſitation, whereof he gave him particular inſtructions; and had large diſcourſe with him of the good ſucceſs that this courſe was like to have.

Suffered under Queen Mary.

In the beginning of Queen Mary he ſuffered much: being glad to fly from his own houſe; but afterwards taken by the juſtices, and committed to cuſtody. Out of which he eſcaped by breaking priſon. His houſe was often ſearched. But he outlived thoſe hard times, and was alive in the year 1565; and then lived at Bekeſborn.

Morice ſupplied Fox with many material notices in his book.

It was this Morice that ſupplied Mr. Fox, the writer of the Acts and Monuments, with thoſe memorials concerning the Biſhop of Wincheſter, which ſhewed how ſmall a ſhare he had in King Henry's affections, notwithſtanding his boaſting thereof, which he was very apt to do; and particularly how that King came to leave him out of his laſt will. All which Sir Anthony Denny related to our Archbiſhop, in the hearing of this his ſecretary: who was alive when Fox wrote this, and whom he aſſerts, towards the end of his eighth book, as a witneſs to the ſame. For it is to be noted here, that, among thoſe perſons that aſſiſted this author with matter for the compiling his laborious books, this Morice was one, and to whom we are to reckon ourſelves beholden for divers other material paſſages of our church-hiſtory, and eſpecially thoſe of his lord and maſter the Archbiſhop, which are preſerved in the ſaid books to poſterity. To Day the printer he ſent many papers of monuments for the furniſhing Fox's Hiſtory; and many more he had communicated, but that, in Queen Mary's reign, his houſe in two
428 years was thrice ſearched; by which means he loſt a great ſort of things worthy perpetual memory; and eſpecially divers letters of King Edward to the Archbiſhop, and of the Archbiſhop to him.

Morice a cordial friend to Latimer. Fox.

I meet with one Morice, a man of worſhip, that was much acquainted with, and very well affected towards, Mr. Hugh Latimer, whom the ſaid reverend father called "his truſty "friend." When he was Parſon of Weſt-Kingſton in Wiltſhire, the prieſts at Briſtol and thereabouts had combined

againſt him; and, accuſing him in ſeveral articles, which they had maliciouſly and falſely collected out of his ſermons, got him convented before Warham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Stokeſly Biſhop of London. By them he was detained a great while, and underwent many an examination. While he was in theſe his troubles, Morice, whom I ſuſpect to be either this Ralph or his father, wrote a kind letter to him to comfort him. To which Latimer gives an anſwer; wherein he explains at large to him the reaſons of his troubles, thanking him for this kindneſs, as well as for others heretofore ſhewn him; and for which he prayed God to reward him. CHAP. XXIX.

CHAP. XXX.

A Proſpect of the Archbiſhop's Qualities.

THERE is an original writing of this Morice's hand, preſerved in the Benet-library, entitled, *A Declaration, &c.* which he drew out for the uſe, and by the command, of Archbiſhop Parker. Wherein divers remarkable paſſages of this Archbiſhop, not yet mentioned, are ſet down: and particularly, he is herein vindicated from one thing, which to this day he is by ſome blamed for; namely, for alienations, and long leaſes of the revenues of the ſee, granted to the King, and others. A great part therefore of this I ſhall here tranſcribe. Morice's declaration concerning the Archbiſhop.

" He was of ſuch temperance of nature, or rather ſo mor- His temperance of nature.
" tified, that no manner of proſperity or adverſity could al-
" ter or change his accuſtomed conditions: for were the
" ſtorms never ſo terrible, or odious, or the proſperous ſtate
" of the times never ſo pleaſant, joyous, or acceptable; to
" the face of the world his countenance, diet, or ſleep, com-
" monly never altered or changed. So that they which
" were moſt near and converſant about him, never or ſeldom
" perceived, by any ſign or token of countenance, how the
" affairs of the Prince or realm went. Notwithſtanding pri-

BOOK III.

" vately, with his ſecret and ſpecial friends, he would ſhed
" forth many bitter tears; lamenting the miſeries and cala-
" mities of the world.

His carriage towards his enemies.

" Again, he ſo behaved himſelf to the whole world, that
" in no manner of condition he would ſeem to have any
" enemy; although in very deed he had both many great
" and ſecret enemies, whom he always bare with ſuch coun-
" tenance and benevolence, that they could never take good
" opportunity to practiſe their malice againſt him, but to
429 " their great diſpleaſure and hinderance in the end. And as
" concerning his own regard towards ſlanders and reproach,
" by any man to him imputed or impinged, ſuch as entirely
" knew him can teſtify, that very little he eſteemed or re-
" garded the bruit thereof; becauſe he altogether travailed
" evermore from giving of juſt occaſion of detraction.
" Whereupon grew and proceeded that notable quality or
" virtue he had, to be beneficial unto his enemies. So that
" in that reſpect he would not be acknown to have any ene-
" my at all. For whoſoever he had been that had reported
" evil of him, or otherwiſe wrought to do him diſpleaſure,
" were the reconciliation never ſo mean or ſimple on the be-
" half of his adverſary, if he had any thing at all relented,
" the matter was both pardoned and clearly forgotten; and
" ſo voluntarily caſt into the fatchel of oblivion behind the
" back parts; that it was more clear now out of his me-
" mory, than it was in his mind, before it was either com-
" menced or committed. Inſomuch that, if any ſuch perſon
" ſhould have had any ſuit unto him afterward, he might
" well reckon, and be as ſure to obtain, (if by any means he
" might lawfully do it,) as any other of his ſpecial friends.
" So that on a time I do remember, that Dr. Hethe, late
" Archbiſhop of York, partly miſliking this his over-much
" lenity, by him uſed, ſaid unto him, My Lord, I now know
" how to win all things at your hand well enough. How
" ſo? quoth my Lord. Marry, ſaith Dr. Hethe, I perceive
" that I muſt firſt attempt to do unto you ſome notable diſ-
" pleaſure; and then, by a little relenting, obtain of you
" what I can deſire. Whereat my Lord bit his lip, as his
" manner was when he was moved, and ſaid, *You ſay well;*

" *but yet you may be deceived. Howbeit, having ſome conſi-* CHAP.
" *deration ſo to do, I may not alter my mind and accuſtomed* XXX.
" *condition, as ſome would have me to do.*

" Again, one thing he commonly uſed, wherein many did Severe in his behaviour towards offending Proteſtants.
" diſcommend him; which was this: he always bare a
" good face and countenance unto the Papiſts, and would,
" both in word and deed, do very much for them; pardon-
" ing their offences: and, on the other ſide, ſomewhat over-
" ſevere againſt the Proteſtants. Which being perceived not
" to be done but upon ſome purpoſe, on a time a friend of
" his declared unto him, that he therein did very much
" harm; encouraging thereby the Papiſts, and alſo thereby
" diſcouraging the Proteſtants. Whereunto he made this
" anſwer, and ſaid, What will ye have a man do to him that
" is not yet come to the knowledge of the truth of the Goſ-
" pel, nor perchance as yet called, and whoſe vocation is to
" me uncertain? Shall we perhaps in his journey coming
" towards us, by ſeverity and cruel behaviour, overthrow
" him, and, as it were in his voyage, ſtop him? I take not
" this the way to allure men to embrace the doctrine of the
" Goſpel. And if it be a true rule of our Saviour Chriſt, to
" do good for evil; then let ſuch as are not yet come to fa-
" vour our religion learn to follow the doctrine of the Goſ-
" pel by our example, in uſing them friendly and charitably.
" On the other ſide, ſuch as have taſted of ſincere religion,
" and as it were taken hold of the Goſpel, and ſeem in
" words to maintain the true doctrine thereof, and then, by
" the evil example of their lives, moſt perniciouſly become 130
" ſtumbling-blocks unto ſuch as are weak, and not at all
" as yet entered into the viage; what would you have me
" do with them? Bear with them, and wink at their faults;
" and ſo willingly ſuffer the Goſpel, by their outrageous
" doings, to be trodden under feet? Uſing herewith another
" notable ſaying of our Saviour out of our memory: which
" ſaith, The ſervant, knowing his lord and maſter's pleaſure
" and commandment, if he regardeth not the ſame, is, as a
" man might ſay, of all others worthy of many plagues.
" And thus with theſe two Scriptures, or doctrines of our
" Saviour Chriſt, he anſwered mine eldeſt brother, who was

BOOK III.

" carneſt with him for his amendment of this quality. Mr. " Iſaac, yet living, is a witneſs of the ſame.

Stout in God's or the King's cauſe.

" Again, if there were any matter of weight, (beſides his " own cauſe, wherein evermore, with all kinds of perſons, " he was ready to relent and give place, according to the " quality of the matter, more than became his ſtate,) which " touched God perceaſe, or his Prince, there was no man " more ſtout or more inexorable. So far forth, that nei- " ther fear of loſing of promotion, nor hope of gain, or win- " ning of favour, could move him to relent, or give place " unto the truth of his conſcience. As experience thereof " well appeared, as well in defence of the true religion " againſt the ſix Articles in the parliament, as in that he " offered to combat with the Duke of Northumberland in " King Edward's time; ſpeaking then on behalf of his " Prince, for the ſtaying of the chauntries, until his High- " neſs had come unto lawful age: and that eſpecially for " the maintenance of his better ſtate then. But if at his " Prince's pleaſure, in caſe of religion, at any time he was " forced to give place, that was done with ſuch humble pro- " teſtation, and ſo knit up for the ſafeguard of his faith and " conſcience, that it had been better his good-will had never " been requeſted, than ſo to relent or give over as he did. " Which moſt dangerouſly (beſides ſundry times elſe) he " eſpecially attempted, when the ſix Articles paſſed by par- " liament; and when my Lord Crumwel was in the Tower: " at what time the book of Articles of our Religion[a] was " new penned. For even at that ſeaſon the whole rabble- " ment (which he took to be his friends, being commiſ- " ſioners with him) forſook him, and his opinion and doc- " trine: and ſo, leaving him *poſt* alone, revolted altogether " on the part of Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter. " As by name, Biſhop Hethe, Shaxton, Day, and all other " of the meaner ſort. By whom theſe ſo named were chiefly " advanced and preferred unto dignities. And yet this ſud- " den inverſion notwithſtanding, God gave him ſuch favour " with his Prince, that book altogether paſſed by his aſſer-

[a] Viz. *The Erudition of a Chriſten Man.*

" tion, againſt all their minds: more to be marvelled at, CHAP. XXX.
" the time conſidered, than by any reaſon to compaſs how
" it ſhould come to paſs. For then would there have been
" laid thouſands of pounds to hundreds in London, that he
" ſhould, before that ſynod had been ended, have been ſhut
" up in the Tower, beſide his friend the Lord Crumwel.
" Howbeit the King's Majeſty, having an aſſured and ap- The King
" proved affiance of his both deep knowledge in religion, rides with Cranmer
" and fidelity both to God and him, ſuſpected in that time againſt all
" other men in their judgments not to walk uprightly, nor the biſhops.
" ſincerely; for that ſome of them ſwerved from their for- 431
" mer opinions in doctrine: and, having great experience of
" the conſtancy of the Lord Cranmer, it drave him all along
" to join with the ſaid Lord Cranmer in the confirmation
" of his opinion and doctrine againſt all the reſt, to their
" great admiration.

" For at all times, when the King's Majeſty would be His great
" reſolved in any doubt or queſtion, he would but ſend ability in anſwering
" word to my Lord over night; and by the next day the the King's
" King would have in writing brief notes of the doctors' doubts.
" minds, as well divines as lawyers, both old and new; with
" a concluſion of his own mind: which he could never get
" in ſuch a readineſs of any; no, not of all his chaplains and
" clergy about him, in ſo ſhort a time. For, being tho-
" roughly ſeen in all kinds of expoſitors, he could incon-
" tinently lay open thirty, forty, ſixty or more, ſome whiles,
" of authors. And ſo, reducing the notes of them altoge-
" ther, would advertiſe the King more in one day, than all
" his learned men could do in a month.

" And it was no mervail; for it was well known, that Cranmer
" commonly, if he had not buſineſs of the Prince's, or ſpe- ſtudied three parts
" cial urgent cauſes before him, he ſpent three parts of the of the day.
" day in ſtudy as effectually as he had done at Cambridge.
" And therefore it was that the King ſaid on a time to the
" Biſhop of Wincheſter, the King and my ſaid Lord of
" Wincheſter defending together, that the canons of the
" Apoſtles were of as good authority as the four Evangeliſts,
" contrary to my Lord Cranmer's aſſertion; *My Lord of*
" *Canterbury*, ſaid the King, *is too old a truant for us*
" *twain.*

BOOK III.

Would speak to the King when none else durſt.

"Again, his eſtimation was ſuch with his Prince, that in "matters of great importance, wherein no creature durſt "once move the King for fear of diſpleaſure, or moving the "King's patience, or otherwiſe for troubling his mind, then "was my Lord Cranmer moſt violently, by the whole coun- "cil, obtruded and thruſt out to undertake that danger and "peril in hand. As, beſide many other times, I remember "twice he ſerved the council's expectation. The firſt time "was, when he ſtaid the King's determinate mind and ſen-

Lady Mary.

"tence; in that he fully purpoſed to ſend the Lady Mary, "his daughter, unto the Tower, and there to ſuffer as a ſub- "ject; becauſe ſhe would not obey the laws of the realm, "in refuſing the Biſhop of Rome's authority and religion. "Whoſe ſtay in that behalf, the King then ſaid unto the "Lord Cranmer, would be to his utter confuſion at the "length. The other dangerous attempt was, in the diſ-

Queen Katharine Howard.

"cloſing the unlawful behaviour of Queen Katharine "Howard towards the King, in keeping unlawful company "with Durrant, her ſervant. For the King's affection was "ſo marvelloufly ſet upon that gentlewoman, as it was "never known that he had the like to any woman. So that "no man durſt take in hand to open to him that wound, "being in great perplexity how he would take it. And "then the council had no other refuge but unto my Lord "Cranmer: who with overmuch importunity gave the

432 "charge; which was done with ſuch circumſpection, that "the King gave over his affections unto reaſon, and wrought "marvellous colourably for the trial of the ſame.

His hoſpitality.

"Now as concerning the manner and order of his hoſ- "pitality and houſekeeping. As he was a man abandoned "from all kind of avarice, ſo was he content to maintain "hoſpitality, both liberally and honourably, and yet not "ſurmounting the limits of his revenues: having more re- "ſpect and foreſight unto the iniquity of the times, being "inclined to pull and ſpoil from the clergy, than to his own "private commodity. For elſe, if he had not ſo done, he "was right ſure that his ſucceſſors ſhould have had as much "revenues left unto them, as were left unto the late ab- "beys: eſpecially conſidering, that the lands and revenues of "the ſaid abbeys, being now utterly conſumed and ſpread

" abroad; and for that there remained no more exercise to CHAP. XXX.
" set on work, or no officers but surveyors, auditors, and
" receivers; it was high time to shew an example of liberal
" hospitality. For although these said workmen, only
" brought up and practised in subverting of monastical pos-
" sessions, had brought that kind of hospitality unto utter
" confusion, yet ceased they not to undermine the Prince, by
" divers persuasions, for him also to overthrow the honour-
" able state of the clergy.

" And, because they would lay a sure foundation to build Falsely accused of ill house-keeping.
" their purpose upon, they found the means to put into the
" King's head, that the Archbishop of Canterbury kept no
" hospitality, or house, correspondent unto his revenues and
" dignity; but sold his woods, and, by great incomes and
" fines, made money, to purchase lands for his wife and chil-
" dren. And to the intent that the King should with the
" more facility believe this information, Sir Thomas Sey-
" mor, the Duke of Somerset's brother, being one of the
" privy-chamber, was procured to take this matter in hand.
" And, before he informed the King thereof, he blated it
" abroad in the court. Insomuch that the gentlemen and
" he fell out for the same: they declare, that his report was
" manifestly false, as well for the keeping of his house, as
" for the purchasing lands for his wife and children. This
" notwithstanding, Mr. Seymor went through with his in-
" formation, and declared unto the King, as is before de-
" clared. The King, hearing this tale with the sequel, (that
" was, That it was meet for the bishops not to be troubled,
" ne vexed with temporal affairs, in ruling their honours,
" lordships, and manors; but rather, they having an honest
" pension of money yearly allowed unto them for their hos-
" pitality, should surrender unto the King's Majesty all their
" royalties and temporalties,) said, I do marvel that it is
" said my Lord of Canterbury should keep no good hos-
" pitality; for I have heard the contrary. And so, with a
" few more commendations of my Lord, as one that little
" regarded the suit; but yet, as it appeared afterward, some-
" thing smelling what they went about, left off any further
" to talk of that matter, and converted his communication
" to another purpose.

BOOK III.

433 "Notwithſtanding, within a month after, whether it was "of chance, or of purpoſe, it is unknown; the King, going "to dinner, called Mr. Seymour unto him, and ſaid, Go ye "ſtraightways unto Lambeth, and bid my Lord of Canter- "bury come and ſpeak with me at two of the clock at af- "ternoon. Incontinently Mr. Seymor came to Lambeth, "and, being brought into the hall by the porter, it chanced "the hall was ſet to dinner. And when he was at the "ſkreen, and perceived the hall furniſhed with three princi- "pal meſſes, beſide the reſt of the tables thorowly ſet, "having a guilty conſcience of his untrue report made to "the King, recoiled back, and would have gone in to my "Lord by the chapel-way. Mr. Nevyl, being ſteward, per- "ceiving that, roſe up and went after him, and declared "unto him, that he could not go that way; and ſo brought "him back unto my Lord through the hall. And when he "came to my Lord, and had done his meſſage, my Lord "cauſed him to ſit down and dine with him. But making "a ſhort dinner, becauſe he would bring the King word "again of his meſſage, he departed and came to the King, "before he was riſen from the table. When he came to "the King's preſence, ſaid the King, Will my Lord of Can- "terbury come to us? He will wait on your Majeſty, ſaid "Mr. Seymor, at two of the clock. Then ſaid the King, "Had my Lord dined before you came? No forſooth, ſaid "Mr. Seymor, for I found him at dinner. Well, ſaid the "King, what cheer made he you? With theſe words Mr. "Seymor kneeled down, and beſought the King's Majeſty "of pardon. What is the matter? ſaid the King. I do "remember, ſaid Mr. Seymor, that I told your Highneſs "that my Lord of Canterbury kept no hoſpitality corre- "ſpondent unto his dignity: and now I perceive that I did "abuſe your Highneſs with an untruth. For, beſides your "Grace's houſe, I think he be not in the realm, of none "eſtate or degree, that hath ſuch a hall furniſhed, or that "fareth more honourably at his own table. Ah, ſaid the "King, have you ſpied your own fault now? I aſſure your "Highneſs, ſaid Mr. Seymor, it is not ſo much my fault as "other men's; who ſeemed to be honeſt men, that informed "me hereof. But I ſhall henceforth the worſe truſt them

" while they live. Then ſaid the King, I knew your pur- CHAP.
" poſe well enough; you have had among you the commo- XXX.
" dities of the abbeys, which you have conſumed: ſome
" with ſuperfluous apparel, ſome at dice and cards, and
" other ungracious rule. And now you would have the
" biſhops' lands and revenues to abuſe likewiſe. If my
" Lord of Canterbury keep ſuch a hall as you ſay, being
" neither term nor parliament, he is metely well viſited at
" thoſe times, I warrant you. And if the other biſhops kept
" the like for their degree, they had not need to have any
" thing taken from them, but rather to be added and
" holpen. And therefore ſet your hearts at reſt; there ſhall
" no ſuch alteration be made while I live, ſaid the King.
" So that in very deed, where ſome had penned certain
" books for the altering that ſtate in the next parliament,
" they durſt never bring them forth to be read. Where-
" upon it alſo came to paſs, that, when the King underſtood,
" that, contrary unto the report, my Lord of Canterbury
" had purchaſed no lands, his Highneſs was content upon
" the only motion of Dr. Butts, without my Lord Cran- 434
" mer's knowledge, that he ſhould have the abbey in Not-
" tinghamſhire; which his wife now enjoyeth.

" Thus much I have declared concerning Mr. Seymor's
" practice, to the intent men may underſtand that my Lord
" Cranmer's hoſpitality was a mean to ſtay the eſtate of the
" clergy in their poſſeſſions."

CHAP. XXXI.

Archbiſhop Cranmer preſerved the Revenues of his See.

" AND here I muſt anſwer for my Lord Cranmer againſt The pre-
" certain objections, which are in divers men's heads, that ſerving the
" by his means all the preferments, offices, and farms, are biſhops' re-
" ſo given and let out, that his ſucceſſors have nothing to venues ow-
" give or beſtow upon their friends and ſervants; nor that ing to the
" ſuch hoſpitality can be kept by reaſon of his fault, in let- Archbiſh.
" ting go ſuch things as ſhould have maintained proviſions

BOOK III.

" of houſehold. But to anſwer this in a few words, before " I deſcend to any particular declaration. It is moſt true, " that, if he had not well behaved himſelf towards his " Prince and the world, his ſucceſſors ſhould not been cum- " bered with any piece of temporal revenues; either lands, " woods, or other revenues. And I pray God they may " maintain, in this mild and quiet time, that which he in a " moſt dangerous world did uphold, and left to his ſuc- " ceſſors. Yet for better declaration, in anſwering to thoſe " objections, it is to be conſidered, that, when he entered " upon his dignity, every man about the King made means " to get ſome reverſion of farms, or of other office of him. " Inſomuch that the King himſelf made means to him for " one or two things, before he was conſecrated: as for the " farm of Wingham-Barton. Which was granted unto Sir " Edward Bainton, Kt. for fourſcore and nineteen years. " When my Lord perceived, that, in ſuch ſuits as he granted " to the King and Queen, men would needs have an hun- " dred years ſave one, he wrote to the Chapter of Chriſt- " Church, and willed them, in any condition, not to con- " firm any more of his grants of leaſes, which were above " one and twenty years. By this means much ſuit was " ſtopped. So that in very deed he gave out his leaſes but " for one and twenty years. Which would not ſatisfy the " greedy appetites of ſome men: and therefore they found " a proviſion for it. For when my Lord had let out certain " goodly farms at Pinner, Heyes, Harrow on the Hill, " Mortlake, &c. to the number of ten or twelve farms, for " one and twenty years, taking no manner of fine for them; " all theſe farms by and by were put into an exchange for " the King. And the King had them not in poſſeſſion ſix " days, but they were my Lord North's and other men's. " And they were not paſt one year in their poſſeſſions, but " that the reverſion of every of them was ſold for more " years: ſome for an hundred pounds, and ſome for more, " and ſome for leſs, making ſweepſtakes of altogethers. " And ſo was my Lord uſed in all things almoſt that he did " let out for one and twenty years.

The Archbiſhop vindicated about his leaſes.

" By means whereof Juſtice Hales, and other of his coun- " ſel, learned in the laws, adviſed him to let out his farms

By long leaſes he ſaved the revenues.

" for many years, which might be a mean that they ſhould " not be ſo much deſired in exchanges as they were: for " thoſe farms, which came to my Lord, came with years " enough upon their backs. And ſo, upon this concluſion, " my Lord was fain to alter his purpoſe in letting of his " farms. Whereupon he did let St. Gregory's in Canter- " bury to Mr. Nevyl, the priory of Dover, Chiſlet-Park, " and Curlefwood-Park, with others, for ſo many years as " he did, on purpoſe to ſtay them; or elſe he had gone with- " out them one time or other. And, as I heard ſay, ſince " your Grace was elect, Curlefwood-Park was in exchange, " and the rent thereof paid for one half year unto the " Queen's uſe: but, ſo ſoon as they underſtood there were " ſo many years to come, it was reverſed to the archbi- " ſhoprick again. So that hereby partly may be perceived " in what ſtate my Lord Cranmer ſtood with his lands.

Juſtified from diminiſhing the rents of the ſee.

" And as touching the diminiſhing of his rents, houſes, " and other commodities, for the proviſion of his hoſpita- " lity; if all things be well pondered, he had left the ſame " in better ſtate than he found it. For, as touching his ex- " changes, men ought to conſider with whom he had to do: " eſpecially with ſuch a Prince as would not be bridled " nor be gainſaid in any of his requeſts, unleſs men would " danger altogethers. I was by when Otford and Knol " were given him. My Lord, minded to have retained Knol " unto himſelf, ſaid, That it was too ſmall an houſe for his " Majeſty. Marry, ſaid the King, I had rather have it than " this houſe, meaning Otford; for it ſtandeth on a better " foil. This houſe ſtandeth low, and is rheumatick, like " unto Croiden, where I could never be without ſickneſs. " And as for Knol, it ſtandeth on a ſound, perfect, whole- " ſome ground: and if I ſhould make abode here, as I do " furely mind to do now and then, I will live at Knol, and " moſt of my houſe ſhall live at Otford. And ſo by this " means both thoſe houſes were delivered up into the King's " hands. And as for Otford, it is a notable great and ample " houſe: whoſe reparations yearly coſt my Lord more than " men would think. And ſo likewiſe did Maidſtone, which " had no manner of commodity to belong unto it. And I " am ſure, that, after certain exchanges paſſed between the

Otford and Knol.

BOOK III.

"King and him, there were an hundred marks a year, or "thereabouts, allowed unto him in his laſt exchanges, for "recompenſe of parks and chaſes: and yet thoſe parks "and chaſes, beſide the proviſion of his veniſon, ſtood him "yearly in much more, by the reaſon of the patents and "fees belonging unto them, than he by any means elſe got "by them.

Curleſwood.

"For as for Curleſwood, it ſtood him in twenty nobles a "year fee. And yet there was no gain in it, but only co-"nies: which the keeper had alſo in his patent. So that the "Archbiſhop, by ſuppreſſing of that, and raiſing that ſmall "rent it payeth, may ſpend thereby ſeven pounds a year more "than it was accuſtomed to pay towards the archbiſhoprick.

Chiſlet-Park.

"And touching Chiſlet-Park, it came to my Lord in ex-436 "change for eight pounds a year. And the farmer payeth "ten pounds: ſo that thereby is gained forty ſhillings a "year. Wherefore it cannot be indifferently gathered, that "my Lord, in preferring his friends unto theſe things, hath "any whit hindered the revenues of the biſhoprick.

Paſture and meadow.

"And as touching paſture and meadow for the proviſion "of his houſe, both at Croyden, and about Canterbury, "Ford, and Chiſlet, there is thrice ſo much meadow, paſture, "and marſh, as was left unto him.

Woods.

"And as for the ſale of his woods, like as he was driven "to exchange them, and ſell them for to maintain his hoſ-"pitality, eſpecially having almoſt twenty years together "learned men continually ſitting with him in commiſſion; "for the trying out, and ſetting forth of the religion re-"ceived, and for the diſcuſſing of other matters in contro-"verſy: ſome of them daily in diet with him, and ſome "evermore living in his houſe: ſo provided he again like "woods, more commodious for his houſes; as the Blene-"woods, belonging to St. Auſtin's; and Pyne-wood, and "others, which be known well enough.

Corn.

"And as touching proviſion for corn out of Chiſlet-Court, "and in other places, it is incredible what a buſineſs he had "and ado with Sir Chriſtopher Hales, for that farm and "corn; who challenged it of the King by promiſe; and "ſo would have defeated my Lord thereof, had not the "King very benignly ſtood on his ſide. And it is no ſmall

" revenue to have yearly ſo much corn, both wheat, malt, " and oats, at ſo mean a price.

" And therefore let men leave off that report of him, that " he was not beneficial to his ſucceſſors. Other biſhops, " ſome of them, loſt whole manors and lordſhips, without " any exchange at all. Thus much my conſcience hath " compelled me to ſay, in defence of my lord and maſter " his good name: whom I knew to take as much care for " his ſucceſſors in that biſhoprick, as ever did Archbiſhop, or " ſhall. And would have as much advanced the ſame, if " the iniquity of the world would have permitted him.

" Now, finally, concerning his behaviour towards his fa- The beſt maſter to- " mily: I think there was never ſuch a maſter among men, wards his " both feared, and entirely beloved. For as he was a man ſervants. " of moſt gentle nature, void of all crabbed and churliſh " conditions, ſo he could abide no ſuch quality in any of " his ſervants. But, if any ſuch outrageouſneſs were in any " of his men or family, the correction of thoſe enormities " he always left to the ordering of his officers: who weekly " kept a counting-houſe. And if any thing univerſally were " to be reformed or talked of; on that day, which com- " monly was Friday, the ſame was put to admonition. And " if it were a fault of any particular man, he was called " forth before the company: to whom warning was given, " That if he ſo uſed himſelf after three monitions, he ſhould " loſe his ſervice.

" There was an infamy of him, that he ſhould have been An infamy " an hoſtler: which the ignorant popiſh prieſts, for very that he was " malice, had publiſhed againſt him. Saying, that he had an hoſtler. " no manner of learning at all, more than hoſtlers are wont 437 " to have. And this rumour ſprang of that, that when he " had married his firſt wife, being reader then of Bucking- " ham College, he did put his wife to board in an inn at " Cambridge; and he reſorting thither unto her in the inn, " ſome ignorant prieſts named him to be the Hoſtler, and " his wife the Tapſter. This bruit then began, but it much " more was quickened when he was Archbiſhop than before. " Inſomuch that a prieſt far north, about Scarborough, ſit- " ting among his neighbours at the ale-houſe, and talking " of Archbiſhop Cranmer, divers men there commending

BOOK III.

" him: What, faid the prieft, make ye fo much of him? He
" was but an hoftler, and hath as much learning as the
" goflings of the green that go yonder. Upon which
" words, the honeft men of the parifh, which heard him, gave
" information to my Lord Crumwel of thofe his flanderous
" words. The prieft was fent for before the council, and
" caft into the Fleet; my Lord Cranmer not being that day
" among the council, nor hearing no manner of word of the
" prieft's accufation. It chanced the prieft to lie in the Fleet
" eight or nine weeks, and nothing faid unto him. He then
" made fuit by one, named Cherfey, (a grocer dwelling
" within Ludgate, now yet alive, and uncle, as I fuppofe, to
" the prieft,) unto my Lord Cranmer for his deliverance.
" This Cherfey brought the copy of the prieft's accufation
" from my Lord Crumwel's houfe. Whereby plainly ap-
" peared there was nothing laid unto the prieft but thofe
" words againft my Lord Cranmer. And therefore he be-
" fought him to help him out of prifon; for it had put him
" to great charges living there, and he had a benefice which
" was unferved in his abfence; and faid, that he was very
" forry he had fo unhoneftly abufed himfelf towards his
" Grace. Whereupon my Lord Cranmer fent to the Fleet
" for the prieft. When he came before my Lord, faid my
" Lord Cranmer to him, It is told me that you be prifoner
" in the Fleet for calling me an hoftler, and reporting that
" I have no more learning than a gofling. Did you ever
" fee me before this day? No, forfooth, quoth the prieft.
" What meant you then to call me an hoftler; and fo to
" deface me among your neighbours? The prieft made his
" excufe, and faid, that he was overfeen with drink. Well,
" faid my Lord's Grace, now ye be come, you may oppofe
" me to know what learning I have. Begin in grammar,
" if you will, or elfe in philofophy, or other fciences, or di-
" vinity. I befeech your Grace pardon me, faid the prieft;
" I have no manner of learning in the Latin tongue, but al-
" together in Engliih. Well then, faid my Lord, if you
" will not oppofe me, I will oppofe you. Are you not wont
" to read the Bible? quoth my Lord. Yes, that we do daily,
" faid the prieft. I pray you tell me, quoth my Lord, then,
" who was David's father? The prieft ftood ftill, and faid,

CHAP. XXXI.

"I cannot furely tell your Lordſhip. Then ſaid my Lord "again, If you cannot tell me that, yet declare unto me "who was Solomon's father? Surely, quoth the prieſt, I "am nothing at all ſeen in thoſe genealogies. Then I per- "ceive, quoth my Lord, however you have reported of me, "that I had no learning, I can now bear you witneſs, that "you have none at all. There are ſuch a ſort of you in "this realm, that know nothing, nor will know nothing, 138
"but ſit upon your ale-bench, and ſlander all honeſt and "learned men. If you had but common reaſon in your "heads, you that have named me an hoſtler, you might "well know that the King, having in hand one of the "hardeſt queſtions that was moved out of the Scripture this "many years, would not ſend an hoſtler unto the Biſhop of "Rome, and the Emperor's council, and other Princes, to "anſwer and diſpute in that ſo hard a queſtion; even among "the whole college of Cardinals, and the rout of Rome. "By all likelihood the King lacked much the help of "learned men, that was thus driven to ſend an hoſtler on "ſuch a voyage: or elſe the King hath many idle prieſts, "without wit or reaſon, that can ſo judge of the Prince and "his council, and of the weighty matters of the realm. "God amend you, ſaid he, and get ye home to your cure, "and from henceforth learn to be an honeſt man, or at leaſt "a reaſonable man.

"The prieſt, lamenting his folly, went his way into his "country; and my Lord Cranmer diſcharged him out of "the Fleet, becauſe there was no matter againſt him, but "that which only concerned my Lord. My Lord Crumwel, "within four days after, came to my Lord Cranmer, and "ſware a great oath, That the popiſh knaves ſhould pick "out his eyes, and cut his throat, before he would any "more rebuke them for ſlandering him. I had thought "that the knave prieſt, which you have diſcharged and "ſent home, ſhould have recanted at Paul's Croſs on Sun- "day next. Yea, marry, quoth my Lord Cranmer, you "would have all the world know by that mean that I was "an hoſtler indeed. What manner of blockheads would "ſo think? quoth my Lord Crumwel. Too many Papiſts, "quoth my Lord Cranmer. Howbeit, quoth he, you have

BOOK III.

" caufed the poor prieft to fpend all that he hath in prifon;
" and would you now put him to open fhame too? He is
" not the firft, not by five hundred of them, that hath called
" me fo; and therefore I will not now begin to ufe extre-
" mity againft this prieft: I perceive he is forry for it.
" Well, quoth my Lord Crumwel, if you not care for it, no
" more do I: but I warrant you one day, if they may, they
" will make you and me both as vile as hoftlers. This I
" repeat to declare his lenity, and promptnefs to remit no-
" table offences; howbeit it fhould have been placed before,
" if I had remembered it.

" Thus I have haftily penned fuch things as came to my
" memory, fince Saturday laft: befeeching your Grace to
" take it in good part, being certainly aflured that I have
" declared nothing of mine head, as concerning the very
" matters."

439 CHAP. XXXII.

Some Obfervations upon Archbifhop Cranmer.

Obfervations upon the Archbifhop.

BESIDES thefe obfervations, made to my hand by another, of this great Archbifhop, I fhall gather fome further obfervations of his endowments and qualities, whether chriftian or moral: whereby we fhall have occafion offered us of gathering up a few more memorials of him.

His learning very profound.

He was a moft profound learned man in divinity, as alfo in the civil and canon laws. As appeared by thofe many voluminous writings and common-places, by him devifed or collected out of all the Fathers and church-writers: which Peter Martyr reported he himfelf faw; and were indeed communicated to him by the Archbifhop, while he harboured him at Lambeth. And there was no book, either of the ancient or modern writers, efpecially upon the point of the euchariſt, which he had not noted with his own hand in the moft remarkable places: no councils, canons, decrees of popes, which he had not read and well confidered. And

from this his indefatigable reading, and exact knowledge of authors, he ventured publickly, before the Pope's delegate, and Queen Mary's commiſſioners, to make this challenge; "That if it could be proved by any doctor above a thouſand "years after Chriſt, that Chriſt's body is in the ſacrament "of the altar really, he would give over." CHAP. XXXII.

So that his library was the ſtorehouſe of eccleſiaſtical writers of all ages: and which was open for the uſe of learned men. Here old Latimer ſpent many an hour; and found ſome books ſo remarkable, that once he thought fit to mention one in a ſermon before the King. And when Aſcham of Cambridge, a great ſtudent of politer learning, and of Greek authors, wanted Gregory Nyſſen in Greek, (not the Latin tranſlation of him,) and which it ſeems the Univerſity could not afford, he earneſtly entreated Poynet, his Grace's chaplain, to borrow it in his name, and for his uſe, for ſome months of the Archbiſhop. For in thoſe times it was rare to meet with thoſe Greek Fathers in their own language, and not ſpoiled by ſome ill Latin tranſlation. Another of his books I will mention, becauſe it is now in the poſſeſſion of a reverend friend of mine near Canterbury: in which book the Archbiſhop's name is yet to be ſeen, written thus with his own hand, *Thomas Cantuarienſis*; and a remarkable book it is, which we may conclude the Archbiſhop often peruſed, *viz. Epiſtolae et Hiſtoria Joannis Hus.* Printed at Wittemberg, 1537. His library.

And this learning happening in a mind poſſeſſed with piety, made him the more deeply ſenſible of the greatneſs of the charge that lay upon him. And as he well knew under what needs the church laboured, ſo he was very ſolicitous that nothing might be wanting on his part: ſhewing himſelf a moſt conſcientious Biſhop and tender Paſtor of Chriſt's flock. He was not guided in his epiſcopal function by vain-glory, or affectation of popular applauſe, or worldly ambition, or covetouſneſs, but only by the holy and pious ends of diſcharging his duty, and promoting the honour of Chriſt, and the knowledge of his Goſpel, and the good of his people: as he took God to witneſs in the preface of his book of the Sacrament. A paragraph whereof I think not unworthy to be here inſerted, whereby it may appear of what An excellent biſhop.

BOOK III.

a truly apoſtolical ſpirit our Archbiſhop was. "When I "ſee," ſaid he, "Chriſt's vineyard overgrown with thorns, "brambles, and weeds, I know that everlaſting woe apper- "taineth to me if I hold my peace, and put not to my hand "and tongue to labour in purging his vineyard. God I "take to witneſs, who ſeeth the hearts of all men tho- "roughly unto the bottom, that I take this labour for none "other conſideration but for the glory of his name, and the "diſcharge of my duty, and the zeal I have toward the flock "of Chriſt. I know in what office God hath placed me, "and to what purpoſe. That is to ſay, to ſet forth his word "truly unto his people to the uttermoſt of my power, with- "out reſpect of perſons, or regard of things in the world, "but of him alone. I know what account I ſhall make to "him hereof at the laſt day, when every man ſhall anſwer "for his vocation, and receive for the ſame, good or evil, ac- "cording as he hath done. I know how Antichriſt hath "obſcured the glory of God, and the true knowledge of his "Word, overcaſting the ſame with miſts and clouds of error "and ignorance, through falſe gloſſes and interpretations. "It pitieth me to ſee the ſimple and hungry flock of Chriſt "led into corrupt paſtures, to be carried blindfold they "know not whither, and to be fed with poiſon, inſtead of "wholeſome meats. And, moved by the duty, office, and "place, whereunto it hath pleaſed God to call me, I give "warning in his name unto all that profeſs Chriſt, that they "flee far from Babylon, if they will ſave their ſouls, and to "beware of that great harlot, that is to ſay, the peſtiferous "ſee of Rome, that ſhe make you not drunk with her plea- "ſant wine, &c."

His care of his own dioceſe.

And as he had this care of the whole church of this land, as the high patriarch thereof, ſo he particularly had his eye upon his own dioceſe. He took care, even in King Henry's ticklish reign, to place ſuch miniſters in Kent as were learned, and dared to open their mouths to preach Goſpel-doctrine, and to convince the people of the uſurpations of the Biſhop of Rome, and of the idolatry and ſuperſtitions, wherein they had been ſo long nurſed up. And for the preventing whereof, for time to come, he ordered his Arch-deacon, and other his officers, to take down images out of

churches, and deface them. Which things created him much hatred among the popiſh clergy, whoſe gain depended ſo much therein. He had a peculiar regard of the greater towns of his dioceſe, that ſuch places might be furniſhed with able men, where the inhabitants were numerous, and the ſalaries generally ſmall. Whereby he ſaw it came to paſs, that where there was moſt need of learned men, there the moſt ignorant were placed. Therefore he thought this worthy his redreſſing. I meet with this memorandum in one of his note-books: "Theſe towns following are eſpe- In the Be-
"cially to be remembered: that in them there be placed net-library.
"learned men, with ſufficient ſtipends." 441

CHAP. XXXII.

Sandwich,	Tenderden,	Whitſtable,
Dover,	Crambroke,	Marden,
Folkſton,	Faverſham,	Maydſton,
Aſhford,	Hearn,	Wye, and Wingham.

In theſe great towns, as well as Canterbury, he often preached himſelf. And, for his ſermons at Sandwich, he was once complained of openly in the parliament-houſe, to have brought him under the laſh of the ſtatute of the ſix Articles. And within ſeven or eight years, after his firſt entrance into the ſee, he had placed ſuch ſtore of good preachers about Kent, that, at another time, a long liſt of articles were drawn up againſt them, and given in to the juſtices of the county at a quarter-ſeſſions of the peace; and they by a combination preferred the complaint to the King and council. At the great towns he preached often.

His high eſtate puffed him not up, nor made him forget the great work of his calling; which he very earneſtly deſired to proſecute above all things in the world. Nor did he care at all for the high titles that were attributed to him, as he was Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as may appear by this paſſage. Upon occaſion of a queſtion ariſing concerning his ſtyle of Primate of all England, for bearing which, in his ſummons for a provincial viſitation, the Biſhop of Winchester, out of malice, had complained to King Henry againſt him, as though it were an encroachment upon the King's ſupremacy; he proteſted to Cromwel, then Secretary, (who Affected not his high ſtyles.

BOOK III.

had ſent him word of it,) "That, as God ſhould be merciful "to him in the day of judgment, he ſet not more by any "title or ſtyle than he did by the paring of an apple, fur- "ther than it ſhould be to the ſetting forth God's word "and will." His expreſſion was, "That they were the "ſucceſſors of Diotrephes that affected glorious titles, "ſtyles, and pomps." He profeſſed, "he could have been "willing that biſhops ſhould lay aſide their lofty ſtyles, and "only write themſelves by the ſtyle of their offices; *The "Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt.* And wiſhed heartily, that the "chriſtian converſation of the people were the letters and "ſeals of their offices, (as the Corinthians were to St. Paul, "who told them, that they were his letters, and the ſigns of "his apoſtleſhip,) and not paper, parchment, lead, or "wax."

His diligence in reforming religion.

Great indeed and painful was his diligence in promoting God's truth, and reforming this church: inſomuch that he raiſed up againſt himſelf the malice and hatred of very many thereby. Theſe memorials, before related, do abundantly evince the ſame. The words of Thomas Becon, in an epiſtle dedicatory, deſerve here to be tranſcribed: "In plucking "up the enemy's tares, and in purging the Lord's field, that "nothing may grow therein but pure wheat, your moſt "godly and unreſtiful pains, moſt reverend father, are well "known in this church of England, and thankfully ac- "cepted of all faithful chriſten hearts. Inſomuch that very "many do daily render unto God moſt humble and hearty "thanks for the ſingular and great benefits which they have "received of him, through your vertuous travel, in attaining

Before his *Treatiſe of Faſting.*

442 "the true knowlege of juſtification, and of the ſacrament of "Chriſt's body and blood, [thoſe two things eſpecially he "laboured to retrieve and promote a true knowledge of,] "and ſuch other holy myſteries of our profeſſion. And al- "beit the devil roar, the world rage, and the hypocrites "ſwell, at theſe your moſt chriſtian labours, which you wil- "lingly take for the glory of God, and the edifying of his "congregation, yet, as you have godly begun, ſo without "ceaſing continue unto the end." And ſo he did, to the effuſion of his blood not many years after.

For he was very ſenſible of the groſs abuſes and corrup-

CHAP. XXXII.

Puts King Henry upon a purpose of reforming many things.

tions into which the chriſtian church had ſunk: which made him labour much to get it purged and reſtored to its primitive conſtitution and beauty. And this he ceaſed not to make King Henry ſenſible of, putting him upon the reformation of the Engliſh church, as he could find occaſion, and convenience ſerve him, to move him thereunto. Which found at laſt that good effect upon the King, that, towards the latter years of his reign, he was fully purpoſed to proceed to a regulating of many more things than he had done[a]. But the ſubtilty of Gardiner Biſhop of Winton, and his own death, prevented his good deſigns. While the aforeſaid Biſhop was ambaſſador abroad, employed about the league between the Emperor and the Engliſh and French Kings, our Archbiſhop took the opportunity of his abſence to urge the King much to a reformation; and the King was willing to enter into ſerious conference with him about it. And at laſt he prevailed with the King to reſolve to have the roods in every church pulled down, and the accuſtomed ringing on Allhallow-night ſuppreſſed, and ſome other vain ceremonies. And it proceeded ſo far, that, upon the Archbiſhop's going into Kent, to viſit his dioceſe, the King ordered him to cauſe two letters to be drawn up, prepared for him to ſign: the one to be directed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the other to the Archbiſhop of York. Who were therein to be commanded to iſſue forth their precepts to all the biſhops in their reſpective provinces, to ſee thoſe enormities redreſſed without delay. Which our Archbiſhop accordingly appointed his ſecretary to do. And the letters, ſo drawn up, were ſent by the Archbiſhop up to court. But the King, upon ſome reaſons of ſtate, ſuggeſted to him in a

[a] As long as Queen Ann, T. Crumwel, Biſhop Cranmer, Mr. Denny, Dr. Butts, with ſuch-like, were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Chriſt's glory did more good in the church than he? as is apparent by ſuch monuments, inſtruments, and acts, ſet forth by him; in ſetting up the Bible in the church; in exploding the Pope with his vile pardons; in removing divers ſuperſtitious ceremonies; in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and ſects; in putting chantrey prieſts to their penſions; in permitting white meats in Lent; in deſtroying pilgrimage-worſhip; in abrogating idle and ſuperſtitious holy-days; both by acts public, and by private letters to Boner. *Acts and Monum.* p. 1147. a. Edit. 1610.

BOOK III.

letter from Gardiner, his ambaſſador beyond ſea, being by ſome made privy to theſe tranſactions, ſuſpended the ſigning of them.

The King again purpoſeth a reformation.

And that put a ſtop to this buſineſs for that time, till ſome time after the King, at the royal banquet made for Annebault the French King's ambaſſador, leaning upon him and the Archbiſhop, told them both his reſolution of proceeding to a total reformation of religion: ſignifying that, within half a year, the maſs both in his kingdom, and in that of France, ſhould be changed into a communion; and the uſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome ſhould be wholly rooted out of both; and that both Kings intended to exhort
443 the Emperor to do the ſame in his territories, or elſe they would break off the league with him. And at that time alſo he willed the Archbiſhop to draw up a form of this reformation, to be ſent to the French King to conſider of. This he ſpake in the month of Auguſt, a few months before his death. This his purpoſe he alſo ſignified to Dr. Bruno, ambaſſador here from John Frederick Duke of Saxony, ſome little time after, ſaying, "That if his maſter's quarrel with "the Emperor was only concerning religion, he adviſed him "to ſtand to it ſtrongly, and he would take his part." But the King's death prevented all.

His influence upon King Edward.

And as for this King's next ſucceſſor, King Edward, the Archbiſhop had a ſpecial care of his education. Whoſe towardlineſs, and zealous inclination to a reformation, was attributed to the ſaid Archbiſhop, and three other biſhops; *viz.* Ridley, Hoper, and Latimer, by Rodulph Gualter of Zurick: who, partly by his living ſome time in England, and partly by his long and intimate familiarity and correſpondence with many of the beſt note here, was well acquainted with the matters relating to this kingdom. Of the great influence of one of theſe upon this King, *viz.* the Archbiſhop, the former memorials do ſufficiently ſhew.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Archbiſhop Cranmer procures the Uſe of the Scriptures.

THE Archbiſhop was a great ſcripturiſt; and, in thoſe darker times of Popery, was the chief repairer of the reputation of the holy Scriptures: urging them ſtill for the great ſtandard and meaſure in all controverted matters relating to religion and the church. By theſe he diſentangled King Henry VIII. his great matrimonial cauſe, when all his other divines, who had the Pope's power and laws too much in their eyes, were ſo puzzled about it; ſhewing how no human diſpenſation could enervate or annul the Word of God. And in the courſe he took about the reforming of religion, the holy Scripture was the only rule he went by; caſting by ſchoolmen, and the Pope's canons and decretals, and adhering only to the more ſure word of prophecy, and divine inſpiration. And ſo Roger Aſcham, in a letter to Sturmius, in the year 1550, when they were very buſy in the reformation, writes: [b] "That ſuch was the care of their "Joſiah, (meaning King Edward,) the Archbiſhop of Can- "terbury, and the whole privy-council, for true religion, "that they laboured in nothing more than that as well the "doctrine as diſcipline of religion might be moſt purely "drawn out of the fountain of the ſacred Scriptures; and "that that Roman ſink, whence ſo many human corruptions "abounded in the church of Chriſt, might be wholly ſtopped "up."

A great ſcripturiſt.

This his high value of the Scriptures made him at laſt the happy inſtrument of reſtoring them to the common people, by getting them, after divers years oppoſition, printed in the Engliſh tongue, and ſet up in churches, for any to read that would for their edification and comfort; when, for ſome

Procures the publiſhing the Engliſh Bible.

[b] Ea verae religionis cura apud *Joſiam* noſtrum imprimis, et Cantuarienſem, et univerſum concilium regium excubat, ut in nullis re aeque laboratum ſit, quam ut religionis, tum doctrina tum diſciplina, ex Sacrarum Literarum fonte, puriſſime hauriatur: et ut ſentina illa Romana, quae tot humanae ſordes in eccleſiam Chriſti redundârunt, funditus obſtruatur.

BOOK III.

hundred years before, thoſe treaſures had, for the moſt part, been locked up and concealed from them.

The biſhops oppoſe it.

But, firſt, great was the labour of our Archbiſhop before he could get this good work effected, being ſo diſliked and repugned by the patrons of popery. For he had almoſt all the biſhops againſt him; as may appear by what I am going to relate. The King being by the Archbiſhop brought to incline to the publiſhing thereof, the tranſlation done by Coverdale was, by Cromwel or the Archbiſhop, preſented into the King's hands; and by him committed to divers biſhops of that time to peruſe, whereof Stephen Gardiner was one. After they had kept it long in their hands, and the King had been divers times ſued unto for the publication thereof, at laſt, being called for by the King himſelf, they redelivered the book. And being demanded by the King, what their judgment was of the tranſlation? they anſwered, That there were many faults therein. Well, ſaid the King, but are there any hereſies maintained thereby? They anſwered, There were no hereſies that they could find maintained in it. If there be no hereſies, ſaid the King, then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people. This circumſtance I thought fit to mention, being the ſubſtance of what Coverdale himſelf afterwards, at a Paul's Croſs ſermon, ſpake in his own vindication, againſt ſome ſlanderous reports that were then raiſed againſt his tranſlation; declaring his faithful purpoſe in doing the ſame: confeſſing withal, "That he did then himſelf eſpy ſome faults; which, if he "might review it once again, as he had done twice before, "he doubted not (he ſaid) but to amend." This is related by Dr. Fulk, who was then one of Coverdale's auditors, and heard him ſpeak and declare all this.

Defence of the Engliſh Tranſlat. ch. 1. p. 4. edit. 1583.

The firſt edition of the Bible.

The firſt edition of the Bible was finiſhed by Grafton, in the year 1537, or 1538. That year our Archbiſhop procured a proclamation from the King, allowing private perſons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their houſes. And about two or three years after they were reprinted, and backed with the King's authority, the former tranſlation having been reviſed and corrected, whether by certain learned men of both univerſities, or by ſome members of the convocation that were then ſitting, it is uncertain. But to this tranſlation the

Antiq. Brit. in Vit. Cranm.

Archbiſhop added the laſt hand, mending it in divers places with his own pen, and fixing a very excellent Preface before it. In which he divided his diſcourſe between two ſorts of men: the one, ſuch as would not read the Scripture themſelves, and laboured to ſtifle it from others. The other, ſuch as read the Scripture indeed, but read it inordinately, and turned it into matter of diſpute and contention, rather than to direct their lives. And thereby, while they pretended to be furtherers thereof, proved but hinderers, as the others were; theſe being as blameleſs almoſt as thoſe.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Preface to the Bible made by the Archbiſhop.

As to the former ſort; "he marvelled at them that they "ſhould take offence at publiſhing the Word of God. For "it ſhewed them to be as much guilty of madneſs, as thoſe "would be, who, being in darkneſs, hunger, and cold, "ſhould obſtinately refuſe light, food, and fire. Unto which "three God's Word is compared. But he attributed it to "the prejudice of cuſtom: which was ſo prevalent, that, "ſuppoſing there were any people that never ſaw the ſun, "ſuch as the Cimmerii were fancied to be; and that God "ſhould ſo order it, that that glorious light ſhould in pro-"ceſs of time break in upon them, at the firſt ſome would "be offended at it. And when tillage was firſt found out, "according to the proverb, many delighted notwithſtanding "to feed on maſt and acorns, rather than to eat bread made "of good corn. Upon this reaſon he was ready to excuſe "thoſe, who, when the Scripture firſt came forth, doubted "and drew back: but he was of another opinion concerning "ſuch as ſtill perſiſted in diſparaging the publiſhing of the "Scripture, judging them not only fooliſh and froward, but "peeviſh, perverſe, and indurate. And yet, if the matter "were to be tried by cuſtom, we might allege cuſtom for "reading the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and preſcribe "more ancient cuſtom than for the contrary. Shewing that "it was not above an hundred years ſince the reading it in "Engliſh was laid aſide within this realm: and that many "hundred years before it had been tranſlated and read in "the Saxon tongue, being then the mother tongue; and "that there remained divers copies of it in old abbeys. And "when that language became old, and out of common "uſage, it was tranſlated into the newer tongue: and of

The contents thereof.

445

BOOK III. "this many copies then ſtill remained, and were daily "found."

Then, from cuſtom, he proceeded to conſider the thing in its own nature; ſhewing how available it was that the Scripture ſhould be read of the laity. For which he takes a large quotation out of St. Chryſoſtom, in his third ſermon *De Lazaro*; wherein that father exhorted the people "to read "by themſelves at home, between ſermon and ſermon; that "what he had ſaid before in his ſermons upon ſuch and "ſuch texts, might be the more fixed in their minds and "memories: and that their minds might be the more pre-"pared to receive what he ſhould ſay in his ſermons which "he was to preach to them. And that he ever had, and "would exhort them, not only to give ear to what was ſaid "by the preacher in the church, but to apply themſelves to "reading the Scriptures at home in their own houſes." And a great deal more upon the ſame argument.

And then, as to the other ſort, our Archbiſhop ſhewed, "how there is nothing ſo good in the world, but might be "abuſed and turned from unhurtful and wholeſome, to "hurtful and noiſome. As above in the heavens, the ſun, "moon, and ſtars, were abuſed by idolatry; and here on "earth, fire, water, meat, drink, gold, ſilver, iron, ſteel, are "things of great benefit and uſe, and yet we ſee much harm "and miſchief done by each of theſe, as well by reaſon of "the lack of wiſdom and providence in them that ſuffer evil "by them, as by the malice of them that work the evil by "them. Adviſing therefore all that came to read the Bible, "which he called *the moſt precious jewel, and moſt holy re-*
446 "*lick that remained upon earth,* to bring with them the fear "of God; and that they read it with all due reverence, and "uſed their knowledge thereof, not to the vainglory of fri-"volous diſputation, but to the honour of God, increaſe of "virtue, and edification of themſelves and others."

And then he backed this his counſel with a large paſſage out of Gregory Nazianzen; which was levelled againſt ſuch as only talked and babbled of the Scripture out of ſeaſon, but were little the better for it. And, laſtly, he concluded his Preface, by directing to ſuch qualifications as were proper for ſuch as came to read theſe ſacred volumes.

Namely, "That he ought to bring with him a fear of Al- CHAP. XXXIII.
"mighty God, and a firm purpose to conform himself there-
"unto; and so continue to proceed from time to time,
"shewing himself a sober and fruitful hearer and learner."
This whole Preface, for the antiquity and usefulness of it, and to preserve as much as we can of the writings of this most reverend man, I have transcribed and placed in the Appendix. No. CIV.

The frontispiece of Cranmer's edition of the Bible.

The edition in the year 1540 had a remarkable frontispiece before it: which, because it is somewhat rare, both in regard of the antiquity and device of it, I will relate. In the upper part thereof you see King Henry VIII. sitting in state, guarded on each hand of him with the lords spiritual and temporal; holding in his right hand a Bible closed, which he delivered unto Archbishop Cranmer, being on his knee, in the name of the rest of the bishops; all which stood at his right hand bare-headed, their mitres lying upon the ground, in token of their acknowledgment of the King's supremacy; and this motto issuing out of the King's mouth, *Hæc præcipe et doce.* Holding also in his left hand another Bible, stretched towards the lords temporal, and delivered to one (whom I suppose to be intended for the Lord Crumwel) at the head of them, standing on the left side, and this word coming out of the King's mouth towards them; *Quod justum est, judicate*: and this; *Ita parvum audietis, ut magnum*: and this; *A me constitutum est, et decretum, ut in universo imperio et regno meo homines revereantur et paveant Deum viventem.* Among these nobles is the figure of one on his knees, and these words issuing out of his mouth; *Verbum tuum lucerna pedibus meis.* Over the King's head is the figure of God Almighty sitting in the clouds, with these words coming out of his mouth in a scroll towards the right hand; *Verbum quod egredietur de me, non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet quæcunque volui.* And in another scroll towards the left, with his hand pointing to the King, *Ecce servum, qui faciet omnes voluntates meas.* Underneath the bishops there is another figure, representing Archbishop Cranmer, his coat of arms by him, with the distinction of a crescent. He stood with his mitre on his head, and dressed in his *pontificalibus*, his chaplain behind him, and a priest

BOOK III. with a tonſure kneeling before him, in the poſture of a candidate for prieſt's orders, and having his hand ſtretched out to receive the Bible offered him by the Archbiſhop, and out of his mouth this ſcroll; *Paſcite, qui in vobis eſt, gregem Chriſti.* On the other ſide, oppoſite to the Archbiſhop, and underneath the lords temporal, ſtood another perſon, whom
447 I conjecture to be the Lord Cromwel, with his ſhield by him blank, without any bearing; and out of his mouth came, *Diverte a malo, ſequere pacem et perſequere.* In the loweſt part of this frontiſpiece you have the reſemblance of a prieſt, preaching out of a pulpit before a great auditory of perſons of all ranks, qualities, orders, ſexes, ages; men, women, children, nobles, prieſts, ſoldiers, tradeſmen, countrymen. Out of the mouth of the preacher went this verſe; *Obſecro igitur primum omnium fieri obſecrationes, orationes, poſtulationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus*, &c. Implying the benefit accruing to princes by the people's knowledge of the Scriptures, namely, that it taught them to obey and pray for them. And out of the mouths of theſe hearers of all ſorts iſſued, *Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex;* and out of the mouths of the children, *God ſave the King:* denoting the great joy the people conceived for the enjoyment of God's Word, and the preaching thereof, and their thankfulneſs to the King for his permiſſion of the ſame. In the middle ſtood the title of the Bible: which was this; "The Bible in Engliſh; that is to ſay, The Con-"tents of all the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſ-"tament, with a Prologue thereunto made by the Reverend "Father in God Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury. This "is the Bible appointed to the Uſe of the Churches. "Printed by Richard Grafton, *cum privilegio ad imprimen-"dum ſolum. An. Dom.* MDXL."

CHAP. XXXIV.

Archbiſhop Cranmer compaſſionate towards ſufferers for Religion.

AS he had a great love and value for the eminent profeſſors and patrons of the Goſpel, ſo he bare a moſt compaſſionate ſpirit towards thoſe that ſuffered for the ſake of it. It made a very great impreſſion upon him when he heard that Sir John Cheke had been taken up and indicted, ſoon after Queen Mary's acceſs to the crown; namely, in the month of Auguſt, which was the next month after. And not knowing wherefore he was indicted, whether for his meddling in the Lady Jane's buſineſs, or for his zeal in promoting religion, he earneſtly deſired Sir William Cecyl to inform him whether. If for the former, "conſidering (as "he ſaid) he had been none of the chief doers in that mat-"ter, he hoped he ſhould have been one of them that "ſhould have partaken of the Queen's favour. But if it "were for the latter, *viz.* his earneſtneſs in religion, if he "ſuffer for that, (ſaid he,) *Bleſſed is he of God that ſuf-"fereth for his ſake, howſoever the world judge of him. For "what ought we to care for the judgment of the world, when "God abſolves us?*" But wiſhing moſt paſſionately withal that ſome means might be uſed for the relief of him and the Lord Ruſſel, who it ſeems was clapped up for the ſame cauſe.

His affection and compaſſion towards profeſſors of the Goſpel. Particularly for Sir John Cheke, a priſoner; And the Lord Ruſſel.

And indeed as our Archbiſhop was in the time of King Edward, he was the ſame under King Henry; that is, the common patron, as far as he might, or dared, of ſuch prieſts who were drawn into trouble for profeſſing or preaching the Goſpel. So he ſhewed himſelf to Turner before mentioned: and in the year 1533, or 1534, I find him in a commiſſion for the relieving of another that had been moſt ſtraitly and rigorouſly handled by Stokeſly, then Biſhop of London, and his Chancellor: his name was Thomas Patmore, Parſon of Hadham in Hertfordſhire, a learned and godly man, who

A patron to ſuch as preached the Goſpel in King Henry's days.

1-18

BOOK III.

had by them been condemned to imprisonment for life, together with the loss of his benefice and goods, because he had persuaded his curate to marry a wife; and, being privy to his marriage, did nevertheless suffer him to officiate in his church: and because he had preached certain doctrines at Cambridge, as laying little stress upon the Pope's curse, and that we are saved only by God's mercy; and that all that are saved, are saved by faith; and that it is against God's law to burn hereticks. This poor man, after three years close imprisonment in Lollards Tower, by the means of his friends, who put up frequent petitions to the King and the Lady Ann Bolen, was at last released, and obtained of the King a commission to our Archbishop, to whom were joined Audley, Lord Chancellor; and Crumwel, Secretary of State, to inquire into his injuries and unjust handling, and to determine thereof according to equity and justice. Fox.

Thus favourable he was to religion and good men in the two former kings' reigns: but when Queen Mary succeeded, he could no longer be a sanctuary or succour unto them, unless it were to comfort them by words, and to pray for them, as was said before.

The Archbishop added, "that he was for his part now "utterly unable either to help or counsel, being in the "same condemnation that they were. But that the only "thing that he could do, he would not omit; and that was, "to pray for them, and all others then in adversity." But he entreated Cecyl, who by this time seemed to have gotten his pardon, or at least to be in good assurance of it, and so in a better capacity to raise up friends to those honest men, to use what means possible he could for them.

His succour of afflicted strangers in King Edward's days.

This was all he could do now for the prisoners of Christ. But while he was in place and capacity of succouring such distressed persons, as he was in King Edward's days, he gave them countenance, entertainment at his house and table, preferment, recommendation to the King and Protector. And indeed there was great need of some such patrons of poor Protestants, the persecutions in Italy, in Spain, in France, in Germany, and other places, being about this time extremely hot: which occasioned the flight of great numbers into this nation; which some of them styled *Christi*

Asylum, "A sanctuary for Christ[a]." In the year 1549 the persecution in France grew very warm: which was partly occasioned upon the inauguration of King Henry II. and his entrance into Paris for that purpose. For the burning of martyrs in several streets of the city, where and when the King was to pass by, made a barbarous part of the solemnity. In this year many French Protestants, who had been imprisoned for religion in their own country, were either banished, or secretly made their escape into this kingdom. These applied to some French ministers, entertained, as it seems, in the Archbishop's family, with Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others: which ministers delivered the condition of these poor men to the Archbishop. And having a petition to present to the Lord Protector, declaring their miserable state, and requiring relief, he appointed the French ministers to apply themselves to Cecyl, then Master of Requests to the Lord Protector: and, that he might be the more ready to recommend and forward the petition, to render it the more effectual, he advised Bucer, Martyr, Alexander, and Fagius, to write their letters jointly unto the said Cecyl, for the French ministers to carry along with them as their letter of credence. For the Archbishop well knew that Cecyl had a great esteem for those learned men, and that their letters would go a great way with him. Such was the particular care and diligence our Prelate piously used for relief of these poor French exiles. The copy of this letter I have thought well worthy to be put in the Appendix. No. CV.

CHAP. XXXIV.

449

Indeed it was noted at this time, as a quality of the nation, that it was φιλόξενος, "addicted to shew favour to strangers;" nay, "to admire them." And surely it was not without the providence of God, that when, in these difficult times, so many honest, pious, learned men, were forced from their own countries, friends, and estates, they found such hospitable entertainment here. Care was taken for their sufficient livelihoods; and for those of them that were towards learning, places were assigned them in the colleges

England harbourous of strangers. *Anglos φιλοξένους esse non nego, et peregrinorum habiti sunt admiratores.* Humfrid. de Nobilit.

[a] Ad vos, ceu in asylum et portum tutissimum sub sanctissimi Regis alas confluebant Germani, Galli, Hispani, Itali, Poloni, Scoti, ut illic Deo suo in fidei libertate servirent, quam ipsis patria ingrata negabat. Gualt. Præf. ante Hom. in prior. D. Paul. Ep. ad Cor.

BOOK III.

of the univerſities, and yearly ſtipends ſettled on them. Of thoſe that were moſt forward and exemplary in theſe chriſtian offices, Dr. Laurence Humfrey (one who lived in thoſe times, and was well acquainted with theſe matters) names King Edward in the firſt place: who, as he aſſerts of his own knowledge, was extraordinarily bountiful to them, both in London, and in the univerſities. Among the noblemen he mentions Henry Earl of Dorſet and Duke of Suffolk: and among the biſhops, Thomas Cranmer, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, of whom he beſtowed this character; "that he "was worthy to ſucceed William Warham in his ſee, "whom he ſo well imitated, both in courteous behaviour "and hoſpitality."

In lib. de Nobilitat. p. 253.

The Archbiſhop's favour to foreigners.

And as he was in King Edward's days of ſuch an hoſpitable diſpoſition towards ſtrangers, ſo he was noted for it in the reign of his father King Henry, being wont then to ſhew himſelf very kind and humane to ſuch as travelled into theſe parts for learning, as well as for ſhelter. Gualter, the great divine of Zurick, being but a young man, came into England about the year 1537; and was ſo affected with the civilities he received here, that he let it ſtand upon record, in the Preface to his Homilies upon the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, how humanely he was received at Oxford, not only by the ſtudents, but by the public profeſſors, and by divers at court. But among them he particularly mentioned "how Archbiſhop Cranmer, whom he ſtyled *The immortal* "*Glory of England*, received him, though a young man "then, and a ſtranger, and had no experience of things, nor "any mark or excellency to recommend him."

450 Unjuſtly charged with covetouſneſs.

And as he was compaſſionate and hoſpitable, ſo he was of a free and liberal diſpoſition; and, as became a chriſtian biſhop, and an Engliſh peer, kept great hoſpitality. Yet however he could not eſcape the imputation of niggardice and cloſeneſs. He had been once accuſed of it to his maſter King Henry, but came off with honour, the King himſelf clearing him of that injurious ſcandal, and giving him a character of a quite contrary nature.

His words to Cecyl upon this charge.

And again in King Edward's reign, in the year 1552, ſome taking the advantage of his abſence from the court, ſlandered him as though he were covetous. Which coming

CHAP. XXXIV.

to his ear, by the cordial friendſhip of Cecyl, the King's ſecretary, he wrote that courtier a letter in vindication of himſelf; profeſſing, "that he was not ſo doted to ſet his "mind upon things here, which neither he could carry "away with him, nor tarry long with them. And that he "took not half ſo much care for his living when he was "a ſcholar at Cambridge, as he did at that preſent, when he "was Archbiſhop of Canterbury; for as he had now much "more revenue than he had then, ſo he had much more to "do withal. And, that he rather feared ſtark beggary at "laſt."

This, and other things to the ſame purpoſe, he ſignified in that letter; that Cecyl thereby might the better underſtand his condition, and know how and what to plead at court in his behalf, as occaſion ſerved, as hath been more at large related before.

Reduced, as he feared, to ſtark beggary before his death.

By the way, I cannot but reflect upon one of the Archbiſhop's expreſſions, which ſeemed to have been uttered prophetically; ſo exactly did the event anſwer to his words: for to ſtark beggary he was indeed at laſt reduced: when, in his impriſonment at Oxon, he had not a penny in his purſe. And, which was more, his enemies were ſo barbarouſly ſevere, that it would not be allowed any well-diſpoſed perſon to relieve his neceſſity, nor to give him an alms; a privilege allowed any beggar beſide. And when a gentleman of Glouceſterſhire, ſenſible of the Archbiſhop's need, and withal knowing how dangerous it was to give the poor Archbiſhop any money, had conveyed ſomewhat to the bailiffs, to be by their hands beſtowed on him, Boner and Thirleby, the two biſhops that degraded him, ſtaid this gentleman, intending to ſend him up to the council, had he not gotten off by the interceſſion of ſome friends.

451

CHAP. XXXV.

Some Account of Archbiſhop Cranmer's Houſekeeping.

Some account of his houſekeeping.

BUT the more fully to confute this calumny, it will not be amiſs to look more narrowly into his houſekeeping. His daily cuſtom at Lambeth was, to dine in a room above, where all noblemen, and perſons of better quality, that came to dine with him, were entertained. Here he was very honourably ſerved, both with diſhes and attendants. In the hall the table was every day very plentifully furniſhed, both for houſehold ſervants and ſtrangers, with three or four principal head-meſſes of officers: beſides the relief of the poor at his gates. And, which is a very obſervable charity, as well as hoſpitality, he appropriated his manſion-houſe at Bekeſborn in Kent, and his parſonage-barn, for harbour and lodgings for the poor, ſick, and maimed ſoldiers, that came from the wars of Bulloign, and other parts beyond ſeas. For theſe he alſo appointed an almoner, a phyſician, and a chirurgeon, to attend on them, and to dreſs and adminiſter phyſic to ſuch of them as were not able to reſort to their own countries; having alſo daily from his kitchen hot broth and meat: beſides the common alms of his houſehold, that were beſtowed upon the poor people of the country. And when any of theſe were recovered, and were able to travel, they had money given them to bear their charges, according to the number of miles they were to paſs before they got home.

Retrenches the clergy's ſuperfluous houſekeeping.

I do not know whether ſome might have taken advantage thus to ſlander him, from a laudable endeavour of his to reduce within ſome bounds the proviſions of clergymen's tables, which in the latter times of King Henry the Eighth grew to great exceſs and extravagancy, ſo unbecoming ſpiritual men. For in the year 1541 the Archbiſhop, with the conſent of the other Archbiſhop, and moſt of the biſhops, and divers other deans and archdeacons, made a conſtitution for moderating the fare of their tables; *viz.*

"That archbiſhops ſhould not exceed ſix divers kinds of

" fleſh, or as many diſhes of fiſh on fiſh-days. A biſhop not CHAP. XXXV.
" above five. A dean or archdeacon, four; and all under
" that degree, three. But an archbiſhop was allowed at ſe-
" cond courſe to have four diſhes, a biſhop three, and all
" others two; as cuſtards, tarts, fritters, cheeſe, apples,
" pears, &c. But if any of the inferior clergy ſhould en-
" tertain any archbiſhop, biſhop, dean, or archdeacon, or any
" of the laity of like degree, as duke, marquis, earl, viſ-
" count, baron, lord, knight, they might have ſuch provi-
" ſion as were meet for their degree: nor was their diet to
" be limited when they ſhould receive an ambaſſador, [to
" recommend, I ſuppoſe, to foreigners the Engliſh hoſpi- 452
" tality."] It was ordered alſo, " That of the greater fiſh
" or fowl, as cranes, ſwans, turkeys, haddocks, pike, tench,
" there ſhould be but one in a diſh: of leſſer ſorts than they,
" as capons, pheaſants, conies, woodcocks, but two: of leſs
" ſorts ſtill, as of partridges, an archbiſhop, three; a biſhop,
" and other degrees under him, two. The number of the
" black-birds were alſo ſtinted to ſix at an archbiſhop's table,
" and to four for a biſhop. And of little birds, as larks,
" ſnytes, &c. the number was not to exceed twelve."

But ſo ſtrongly bent were the clergy in thoſe days to this ſort of ſenſuality, that theſe injunctions of our Archbiſhop were obſerved but two or three months, and ſo they returned to their old ſuperfluity again.

His pious deſign therein.

The Archbiſhop's pious deſign hereby was only to curb intemperance and unneceſſary prodigality in ſuch, upon whoſe office thoſe vices caſt ſuch juſt reflections: but it could not reaſonably argue any covetous temper in him; for, that the poor might not fare the worſe for this intrenchment of exorbitant hoſpitality, but rather the better, the Archbiſhop in theſe aforeſaid orders provided, " That what-
" ſoever was ſpared out of the old houſekeeping, ſhould not
" be-pocketed up, but laid out and ſpent in plain meats for
" the relief of poor people."

Others charged him with prodigality.

And that this charge may ſtill appear to be nothing but a mere detraction, proceeding from envy, or ſome other ill principle, others there were that would blame him for the contrary vice, of too much laviſhing and unprofitable ex-

BOOK III. pence. So hard a matter is it for the beſt men to eſcape the ſpiteful and venomous inſinuations of the world. But he patiently and with an even mind bore all.

453

CHAP. XXXVI.

Archbiſhop Cranmer humble; peaceable; bold in a good cauſe.

Humble and condeſcending.

FOR, which is another thing to be remarked in him, he was very humble and condeſcending, and did not only bear to be reproved, but was thankful for it; and that even when the reproof was undeſerved: which was the more to be valued in him, conſidering the height and dignity of his calling. To give an inſtance or two of this.

When, in the year 1552, Cecyl had charged him with the imputation of covetouſneſs, as a report that went of him in the court, and which himſelf ſeemed partly to believe, begging withal pardon of his Grace for his freedom with him: our Archbiſhop told him, "That as for the admonition, he "took it very thankfully; and that he had ever been moſt "glad to be admoniſhed by his friends; accounting no man "ſo fooliſh, as he that would not hear friendly admoniſh-"ment." And when, at another time, the ſame Cecyl (who would always take the liberty to ſpeak his mind to his friends, whenſoever he thought they wanted counſel) had ſignified to him the hazard he incurred in not ſhewing more compliance towards the Duke of Northumberland, who now ſwayed all; and then apologizing for his boldneſs; Cranmer was ſo far from taking this ill, that "he returned him "his very hearty thanks for his friendly letter and adver-"tiſements; deſiring him to be aſſured that he took the "ſame in ſuch good part, and to proceed of ſuch a friendly "mind, as he ever looked for at his hands, and whereof he "would not be unmindful, if occaſion hereafter ſerved, to "requite the ſame."

And this good temper led him alſo to gentleneſs and le-

CHAP. XXXVI.

nity. He was no huffer nor contender, but of an exceeding peaceable and amicable ſpirit. Whereunto he was moved by the reaſon of policy, as well as religion: becauſe he well ſaw how a contentious quarrelſome diſpoſition in great men would be apt to give an ill example unto inferiors. There happened once, in the year 1552, a conteſt between him and the Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, who lived not far from him; and ſo probably it might be about ſome worldly matters. It was Sir Thomas Cheyny; who, in the year 1549, was one of thoſe that met with Warwick in London, and publiſhed a proclamation againſt the Archbiſhop's friend, the Duke of Somerſet, as a traitor: which might be an occaſion that the Archbiſhop did not much affect Cheyny, nor Cheyny the Archbiſhop. Concerning this difference between them, which it ſeems was taken notice of at court, when his true friend Cecyl had wrote to him, adviſing a reconciliation, he gave this chriſtian and meek anſwer from his houſe at Ford; "That there was no man more loth to 1554
"be in contention with any man than he was; eſpecially
"with him who was his near neighbour, dwelling both in
"one county, and whoſe familiar and entire friendſhip he
"moſt deſired, and that for the quietneſs of the whole
"county." Adding, "That the examples of the rulers and
"heads would the people and members follow."

Peaceable and mild.

His peaceableneſs alſo appeared in his hearty deſires of the public peace, as well as private. When, upon occaſion of hearing of the wars that were about the year 1552, eagerly followed both in Chriſtendom and out of it, he uſed theſe words; "The Sophy and the Turk, the Emperor
"and the French King, not much better in religion than
"they," [ſuch it ſeems was his cenſure of them, by reaſon of the cruelty and perſecution they exercited, and the diſturbances they made in the world,] "rolling the ſtone, or
"turning the wheel of fortune up and down; I pray God
"ſend us peace and quietneſs with all realms, as well as
"among ourſelves."

His ſpeech upon the news of wars abroad.

But though he were of ſo quiet and mild a ſpirit, yet, being a plain downright man, he would never learn the arts of flattery and baſe compliances with them that were upper-

Unacquainted with, or averſe to court-flattery.

BOOK III.

moſt: which had like to have created him much trouble from Northumberland; to whom he carried not himſelf with that deference and pleaſingneſs as he expected. For Cranmer knew the bad heart of this haughty man, and could not forget the ill meaſure his friend, the Duke of Somerſet, had found at his hands. He did not care to make any application to him, nor to be an inſtrument in forwarding any of his deſigning buſineſs. When he was to write up to ſome of the court concerning Reiner Wolf, I ſuppoſe for licenſe to print the Articles of Religion, anno 1552, he deſired to take Cecyl's advice, to whom he ſhould write; "For I know not," ſaith he, "to whom to write but my "Lord of Northumberland;" to whom to make any addreſs he would fain have avoided if he could. There was, about the year 1552, a commiſſion iſſued out for a ſtrict inquiry to be made after all ſuch as had defrauded the King of any goods or treaſure, accruing to him by the ſuppreſſion of chauntries, or that belonged to churches. Now this was done by Northumberland and his creatures on purpoſe that it might light heavy upon Somerſet's friends, who had been the chief viſitors in thoſe affairs, and had many of them been ſuppoſed to have enriched themſelves thereby. Commiſſioners were appointed in each county. In Kent the commiſſion was directed to the Archbiſhop, and to ſeveral other gentlemen and juſtices of peace. The Archbiſhop, perceiving well the ſpite and malice of this commiſſion, acted very ſlowly in it: inſomuch that Northumberland began to be highly angry with him. Cecyl obſerving it, and having ever a great veneration for that good man, and fearing he might feel the effects of his fury, writ to him, ſignifying Northumberland's diſpleaſure, and giving him advice to take heed of him: for which the Archbiſhop thanked him, and prudently writ his excuſatory letter to that Duke, dated November 20, ſignifying, "that the cauſe of his ſtay of the
455 "commiſſion was, becauſe he was alone, and that the gen-
"tlemen and juſtices of peace, who were in commiſſion
"with him, were then at London, [probably becauſe of the
"Term,] before whoſe coming home, if he ſhould proceed
"without them, he might," as he ſaid, "travel in vain, and

Would never crouch to Northumberland.

"take more pains than he ſhould do good." And by ſuch ſoft but honeſt words mollifying him for the procraſtination of that which he had no mind to meddle in. CHAP. XXXVI.

He and Ridley fall under the Duke's diſpleaſure.

But not long after he, and Ridley Biſhop of London with him, fell under great diſpleaſure with this Duke, and the reſt of the great men of his party; who in the latter end of King Edward's reign governed all. The reaſon whereof was, for oppoſing, as much as they could, though to no effect, the ſpoil of the church-goods; which were taken away only by a commandment of the higher powers, without requeſt or conſent of them to whom they did belong; as Ridley himſelf relates in his treatiſe, wherein he lamented the change of religion in England: which indeed was more than ever Henry VIII. had done.

Ridley's lamentation.

Bold and undaunted in God's cauſe.

Add to the reſt, that our Biſhop was of a bold and undaunted courage in the cauſe of God and his church. It was a brave and generous act, and worthy the chief Biſhop of the Engliſh church; I mean that public challenge which he made to maintain the Common Prayer-Book, and the other parts of the reformation, by the Scripture and Fathers, in open diſputation, againſt whomſoever, if the Queen ſo pleaſed to permit it: which was done by him ſoon after the Queen's coming to the throne. And had he not been prevented by others, who diſperſed copies of this challenge without his knowledge, it had been made very ſolemnly, as he freely told the Queen's council, by fixing this his declaration on the doors of St. Paul's, and other churches, with his hand and ſeal to it. And his courage herein appeared the greater, becauſe he was at this very time under a cloud, and in great danger; having ſome time before now been convented before the council, and confined to Lambeth.

Falſely charged with cowardice, and too much flexibility.

And whoſoever ſhall conſider that good progreſs that by his means was made in religion, not only in King Edward's reign, but even in that of King Henry, under the diſcouragements of an anciently-riveted ſuperſtition and idolatry; and withal ſhall ponder the haughty nature of that Prince, of ſo difficult addreſs, and ſo addicted to the old religion; and how dangerous it was to diſſent from him, or to attempt to draw him off from his own perſuaſions; cannot but judge

BOOK III.

Cranmer to have been of a very bold ſpirit, to venture ſo far as he did. And undoubtedly his courage went an equal pace with his wiſdom and diſcretion, and was no whit inferior to his other excellent qualifications. And this I ſay the rather, to vindicate the memory of this moſt reverend Prelate from an unworthy reflection, made upon him in a trifling account of his life: wherein he is charged to be

Abel Redivivus. "of too eaſy and flexible a diſpoſition, which made him "cowardly to comply with the church of Rome. And,

456 "that though he never did any harm to the Proteſtants, yet "he did not unto them ſo much good as he might or "ought." For the confutation of which, I appeal to numberleſs paſſages which I have written of him. But it is eaſy to ſee from whence this author had this character of our Archbiſhop; namely, from Parſons and Saunders, two malicious calumniating jeſuits. The former hath theſe words

Three Converſions. of him; "That to the King's will and liking he reſolved to "conform himſelf, as well in religion as in other things. "And, that when King Henry was large towards the Pro"teſtants, Cranmer was ſo alſo; but when the King became "more ſtrict and rigorous, eſpecially after the ſix Articles, "Cranmer was ready to proſecute the ſame." And therefore Saunders framed a name for the Archbiſhop, calling him *Henricianus*; in the ſame ſenſe as Herod's creatures in the Scriptures were called *Herodiani*. A very falſe character of this good Archbiſhop, to ſay no worſe of it.

Of ardent affections. I muſt here make a note of one quality more of our Archbiſhop: which was this; that he was a man of ardent affections, and of an open and generous temper; and where he loved, he thought he could never enough expreſs it. An inſtance of this I will give in Biſhop Thirleby: to whom, for the good qualities he ſuppoſed were in him, he had a moſt

Inter Foxii MSS. earneſt love. An account of this I will lay down in the words of Morice, the Archbiſhop's ſecretary, who well knew it.

"Beſides his ſpecial favour to him," ſaith he, "that way, "[in recommending him to the King.] there was no man "living could more friendly eſteem any man of himſelf, as "my Lord Cranmer did this Thirleby; for there was no

" kind of pleaſure which my Lord Cranmer was liable to CHAP.
" do, that was not at this man's commandment: whether it XXXVI.
" were jewel, plate, inſtrument, map, horſe, or any thing
" elſe, though he had it from the King's Majeſty; but if
" this man did once like or commend it, the gentle Arch-
" biſhop would forthwith give it unto him. And many
" times Dr. Thirleby, for civility-ſake, would inſtantly refuſe
" the ſame, yet would he ſend it unto him the next day
" after to his houſe. Inſomuch that it came into a common
" proverb, *That Dr. Thirleby's commendation of any thing*
" *of my Lord's, was a plain winning or obtaining thereof.*
" So that ſome men thought, that if he would have de-
" manded any finger, or other member of his, he would
" have cut it off to have gratified him therewith; ſuch was
" his ardent affection towards him. This no ſmall ſort of
" honeſt men, now living, can teſtify;" that is, about the year 1565, when this was written.

Cranmer compared with Cardinal Wolſey.

It may deſerve alſo a remark, that our good Prelate roſe upon the fall of another great churchman, *viz.* the Cardinal of York. For about that very time the King rejected Wolſey from his favour and employment, Cranmer ſucceeded into them. It may be alſo obſerved, that, as the King's great matter of the divorce was firſt moved and managed by Wolſey; ſo it was taken up, and vigorouſly carried on, and ſuc- 457
ceſsfully ended, by Cranmer. And as the former ſtarted it upon an unjuſt policy, and ſo in the iſſue, by God's ſecret judgment, proſpered no better by it, it finally proving his ruin; ſo the latter, acting in it out of a better and more honeſt principle of conſcience and religion, became thereby advanced to the greateſt honour in the church: which he held for twenty years together. Though at laſt indeed it had the ſame fatal iſſue to him, by the ſecret malice of Queen Mary, as it had to the Cardinal before, by the ſecret diſpleaſure of Queen Ann. But as they were thus parallel in the cauſe of their falls, ſo their demeanors under their calamities were very different. The Cardinal under his ſhewed a moſt abject and deſponding mind; but our Archbiſhop's carriage was much more decent under his, remaining undaunted and magnanimous: having a ſoul well fortified by the principles

BOOK III. of solid virtue and religion, which the other had not. And this appeared in him, when, being brought forth to be baited before Brooks, the Pope's sub-delegate; and Martin and Story, the King's and Queen's commissioners at Oxford; he gravely, and with an unmoved spirit, used these words: "That he acknowledged God's goodness to him in all his "gifts; and thanked him as heartily for that state wherein "he found himself then, as ever he did in the time of his "prosperity; and that it was not the loss of his promotions "that grieved him at all."

CHAP. XXXVII.

Osiander's and Peter Martyr's Character of the Archbishop.

THE last thing I shall observe of him is, that he always remained the same man; not altered by his honours and high advancements. As he was a person of great piety, goodness, affability, and benignity, before he was Archbishop, and the sunshine of royal favour, so he continued at all times after. For a witness of this, I will set down two characters given him by two foreign learned men, both which knew him well.

Osiander's character of the Archbishop.

The one shall be of Osiander; from whom we may take this account of what he was before he was Bishop, while he remained abroad in Germany. Osiander, that great divine of Norinberg, professed to love him for some excellent endowments that were common to him with some other good men, but especially for others more extraordinary and peculiar to himself: of the former sort was, "that he was a "gentleman of good birth and quality; that he had an as-"pect and presence that carried dignity with it, an incre-"dible sweetness of manners; that he had learning beyond "the common degrees of it; was benign and liberal to-"wards all, and especially to those that were studious and "of good literature. Of the latter, were those more ab-
458 "struse and heroical virtues of his mind, rare to be found in "the age wherein he lived; *viz.* his wisdom, prudence, for-

Epist. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evangelic.

" titude, temperance, juſtice; a ſingular love towards his CHAP. XXXVII.
" country, the higheſt faithfulneſs towards the King; a con-
" tempt of earthly things, a love of heavenly; a moſt burn-
" ing ſtudy towards the evangelick truth, ſincere religion,
" and Chriſt's glory." And this was Cranmer before he was placed in his high and honourable ſtation.

The other character of Cranmer is that of Peter Martyr; who thus ſpeaks of him, when he was at the top of all his earthly honour, in the middle of King Edward's reign: And Peter Martyr's.

" That his godlineſs, prudence, faithfulneſs, and his ſingular *Ep. Dedi-cat. ante li-brum de Eu-charift.*
" virtues, were known to all the kingdom. That he was ſo
" adorned with the grace and favour of Chriſt, as that,
" though all others are the children of wrath, yet in him
" piety, and divine knowledge, and other virtues, might
" ſeem to be naturally born and bred; ſuch deep root had
" they taken in him. So that Martyr often wiſhed and pro-
" feſſed, he ſhould eſteem it as a great benefit vouchſafed
" him of God, that he might come as near as might be to
" his virtues, which he admired in him as the wonderful
" gifts of God. And, as to himſelf and others, fled into
" theſe quarters for religion, that Cranmer's kindneſs and
" humanity, merits and benefits towards them, were ſuch,
" that if he ſhould render juſt thanks, and ſpeak of them as
" they deſerved, he muſt do nothing but tell of them; and
" how much ſoever he ſhould extol them, the greatneſs of
" the matter would overreach his ſpeech. And that it was
" well known to all how humanely he received not him
" only, but many other ſtrangers of his order, and how
" kindly he treated them."

To both theſe I will ſubjoin the judgment of another, who, Bale's character of the Archbiſhop.
I cannot but conclude, was well acquainted with the Archbiſhop, and a long and diligent obſerver of his demeanor in his ſuperintendency over the church; and that was John Bale, ſometime Biſhop of Oſſory. " He never placed," ſaid *In Centur.* he, " the function of a biſhop in the adminiſtration of ſecular
" things, but in a moſt faithful diſpenſation of God's Word.
" In the midſt of wicked Babylon he always performed
" the part of a good guide of Iſrael. And among Papiſts,
" that tyrannized againſt the truth of Chriſt, he governed
" the people of God with an admirable prudence.

BOOK III.

"No man ever ſo happily and ſteadily perſiſted, with "Chriſt himſelf, in the defence of the truth, in the midſt of "falſely learned men, in ſuch imminent hazard of his life, "and yet without receiving any harm.

"No man did more prudently bear with ſome falſe apo- "ſtles for a time, although, with St. Paul, he knew what "moſt peſtilent men they were, that ſo they might not be "provoked to run into greater rage and madneſs."

The difficult times wherein Cranmer lived.

All this that I have before written concerning this our venerable Prelate cannot but redound to his high praiſe and commendation: and it is very fit ſuch virtues and accompliſhments ſhould be celebrated and recorded to poſterity. 459 Yet I do not intend theſe my collections for ſuch a panegyrick of him, as to make the world believe him void of all faults or frailties, the condition of human nature. He lived in ſuch critical times, and under ſuch Princes, and was neceſſarily involved in ſuch affairs, as expoſed him to greater temptations than ordinary. And if any blemiſhes ſhall, by curious obſervers, be eſpied in him, he may therefore ſeem the more pardonable; and his great exemplary goodneſs and uſefulneſs in the church of God may make ample amends for ſome errors.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Archbiſhop vindicated from Slanders of Papiſts.

A lying character of this Archbiſhop by a late French author.

I HAVE given, I hope, a juſt, though imperfect, account, from undoubted records and authentic manuſcripts, as well as the beſt publiſhed books, of the excellent endowments of this great Prelate, and of his innocent, prudential, and uſeful behaviour in his high place and ſtation. So that none, who impartially weighs the premiſſes, can conclude otherwiſe of him, than that he was a very rare perſon, and one that deſerves to be reckoned among the brighteſt lights that ever ſhone in this Engliſh church. And this all the ſober unprejudiced part of poſterity will believe, notwithſtanding

the unjuſt calumnies ſome hot-ſpirited Papiſts have caſt upon his memory. CHAP. XXXVIII.

I ſhall paſs over the unhandſome name that Feckenham gave him, calling him *Dolt*; as he did alſo his two other brethren in tribulation, Ridley and Latimer, priſoners then in Oxford, (men by far more learned than himſelf,) upon occaſion of Mr. Hawks eſteeming them deſervedly "godly "and learned men."

I ſhall alſo paſs by what Biſhop Boner then ſaid of him, *viz.* "That he dared to ſay, that Cranmer would recant ſo "he might have his living:" as though he were a man of a proſtituted conſcience, and would do any thing upon worldly conſiderations.

But there is a late French writer, whom I cannot but take notice of with ſome indignation; who, to ſhew his bigoted zeal to the Roman church, hath beſtowed this moſt defamatory character upon this our Archbiſhop; "That he "was one of the profligateſt men of England; that had no- "thing of chriſtianity in him, but the outward appearances; "being ambitious, voluptuous, turbulent, and capable of all "ſorts of intrigues." Of which all that I have written is an abundant confutation; beſides the ſevere chaſtiſements the right reverend the Biſhop of Sarum hath lately beſtowed upon this author: who queſtionleſs was well verſed in thoſe famous Popiſh calumniators of our reformation, and of this our Archbiſhop, the great inſtaurator thereof, and had a mind to outdo them in their talent of throwing dirt. Thoſe, I mean, who, living in the age paſt, did moſt bitterly and virulently, as it fell in their way, fly upon Cranmer's memory and fame, to eclipſe it to poſterity if they could; namely, Saunders, Allen, and Parſons, and ſome others. But thoſe who read theſe Memorials will be able eaſily to confute them, and will perceive that theſe men ſought not ſo much to ſay what was true, as what might ſerve the ends of their anger and ſpite; their reports being made up for the moſt part of nothing but lies and ſlanders illy patched together.

Varillas his Hiſtory of Heretickes.

460

Allen, if he were the anſwerer of the *Execution of Engliſh Juſtice*, ſaith, "that Cranmer was a notorious perjured, "and often relapſed Apoſtata, recanting, ſwearing and for-

Allen's calumny of the Archbiſhop. *Sincere and*

BOOK III.

"ſwearing at every turn." A heavy charge; but we are left to gueſs what theſe perjuries, theſe ſo often ſwearings and forſwearings, theſe relapſes and recantations be. But it is enough for them to roar out "notorious perjuries, &c." But let us ſee what oaths Cranmer took, that might occaſion his perjuries. He ſwore, at his conſecration, the uſual oath to the Pope; and, in his future doings, laboured to reſtore the King's ſupremacy againſt the Pope's uſurpations, and to promote a reformation againſt the Pope's ſuperſtitions. Was this one of his "notorious perjuries?" It is pity the doing ſo good a thing ſhould fall under ſo bad a name. But, at the taking of that oath, did he not make a ſolemn proteſtation openly before public notaries, and that entered down into record, that he intended not by the ſaid oath to do any thing againſt the law of God, the King, or the realm, and their laws and prerogatives; nor to be abridged thereby from conſulting for the reformation of religion? In which way the beſt civilians then put him, and aſſured him, that by this means he might ſafely, without any guilt, take the oath to the Pope: which otherwiſe he would not have done. And truly, for my part, I think there was no other way to eſcape that perjury, that all other biſhops elect in thoſe times were entangled in, by ſwearing two contrary oaths, one to the Pope, and another to the King. Cranmer ſware alſo, at receiving orders, to live chaſtely; but he afterwards married a wife. Surely hereby he brake not his oath, but rather kept it. He did likewiſe ſwear to the ſucceſſion of Queen Ann: but would Allen have all that ſubmitted to that act of parliament to be perjured? That would reflect upon the wiſdom of the three eſtates at that time, in making ſuch an enſnaring law; and involve all ſorts of people, both clergy, nobility, and gentry, and all other perſons of age, in perjury, as well as the Archbiſhop, excepting only two perſons, More and Fiſher, who would not ſubmit to this act. And even they themſelves offered to ſwear to the ſucceſſion itſelf, and refuſed only to ſwear to the preamble of the ſaid act. There was indeed an act made, which ſeemed contrary to this act, namely, that which in the year 1536 put by the ſucceſſion of Queen Ann, and carried it to the King's children by another Queen;

modeſt Defence of Engliſh Catholicks, p. 45.

Wiped off.

and to this act the ſubjects were to ſwear alſo. And we will ſuppoſe that the Archbiſhop ſwore with the reſt to this act. Neither was there any perjury here; for this oath in truth was not contrary to the former: for by reaſon of ſome lawful impediment of Queen Ann's marriage with the King, as was then pretended, it was declared by the parliament, that the iſſue of that Queen was illegitimate, and not inheritable. And the firſt oath was only for the ſucceſſion of lawful iſſue by Queen Ann. Therefore, there being no lawful iſſue of that Queen, as was then at leaſt ſuppoſed, the oath to the lawful iſſue of another Queen might certainly be very innocently taken, without incurring the breach of the former. And where at length is this "notorious perjury, and ſwearing and forſwearing at every turn?" CHAP. XXXVIII. 461

Allen again lets fly upon him, calling him *Apoſtata*. But ſurely it is not apoſtaſy to leave error, ſuperſtition, and idolatry, for the true doctrine and profeſſion of the Goſpel. He chargeth him alſo with "often relapſing and recanting." He made no relapſes nor recantations at all, as I know of, unleſs a little before his death, when he ſubſcribed to a parcel of Popiſh articles, by the importunity of Papiſts, working upon his frailty and long-ſufferings. But he ſoon revoked all again, and died moſt patiently in the profeſſion of the true religion. And to this at laſt comes all this mighty clamour, that he was "notoriouſly perjured, an often relapſed Apoſtata, recanting, ſwearing and forſwearing at every turn." Cleared from his charge of apoſtaſy.

Saunders his ſcurrilous and falſe accounts of Cranmer are numberleſs; I will only mention one or two. He ſaith, "That from Cambridge he went to the ſervice of Sir Thomas Bullen, and by his preferment was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury." Whereas from Cambridge he was immediately made the King's chaplain, and wanted not the recommendation of any to his preferment, the King being ſo well acquainted with his merits. And though he abode ſome time with the Earl of Wiltſhire, whom he ſtyleth Sir Thomas Bullen, yet it was not in the quality of his chaplain, but of one whom the King recommended to him. He writeth, "that the Archbiſhop carried his wife about with "him in a cheſt, when he removed;" and addeth a ridi- Saunders's falſehoods of the Archbiſhop. *De Schiſm. Ang.*

BOOK III.

culous ſtory relating thereunto. And his brother Parſons faith, "This was a moſt certain ſtory, and teſtified at that day by Cranmer's ſon's widow to divers gentlemen, her friends," from whom Parſons faith he had it. Other Popiſh dignitaries in thoſe days kept and converſed with their concubines and whores more publickly; and did the Archbiſhop keep his wife ſo cloſe? But in caſe he had travelled with her more openly, who ſhould examine the Archbiſhop, and call him to account, whether ſhe were his wife or his concubine? and therefore the ſtory is moſt improbable. The King himſelf knew he had a wife well enough. And when the Archbiſhop ſaw the danger of having her with him, he ſent her away to her friends beyond ſea for a time. And that ſilly ſtory comes through too many hands, before it came to Parſons, to make it credible. Cranmer's ſon tells it to his wife, nobody knows where: ſhe, being a widow, tells it to certain gentlemen, nobody knows who: and they tell it to Parſons, nobody knows when. No one place, perſon, or time, mentioned. And ſo all the faith of the matter lies upon a woman's evidence, and her's upon the credit of thoſe two very honeſt men, Parſons and Saunders.

In his book of the *Three Converſions.*

Parſons his compliments to the Archbiſhop.

In Parſons his Three Converſions of England are theſe many favourable expreſſions of our Archbiſhop to be found: that "he was the firſt heretick in that order, [of Archbiſhops "of Canterbury.]" Becauſe he was the firſt that laboured a reformation of the horrible errors of the degenerate church of Rome. And, "that he was the firſt Archbiſhop "of Canterbury that ever brake from the Roman faith." And, that "this was the firſt change of religion in any "Archbiſhop, from the beginning unto his days." Deſigning thereby to fix a very black mark upon him, which rather redounds to his everlaſting honour. That "he was an "unconſtant man in his faith and belief: incontinent in his "life: variable in all his actions: accommodating himſelf "always to the times wherein he lived, and to the humours "of thoſe who could do moſt; and this in matters even "againſt right and conſcience." No, but quite contrary; he was conſtant in his faith and belief to the very laſt, except one fall, which he ſoon recovered: moſt chaſte in his life, living in the holy ſtate of marriage: ſteady in all his

462

In his Kalendar.

actions; accommodating himself always, neither to the times nor to the humours of any man, let him be as great as he would, any farther than he might do in right and conscience: and often opposing King, Parliament, Privy-council, and Synods, to his utmost danger, in defence of truth, and for the discharge of his own conscience.

Again, "That he was a [Roman] Catholick in most "points during King Henry's reign." Whereas he was so in no point, excepting in that of the corporeal presence. "That he applied himself to the religion which the state and "Prince liked best to allow of in that time, [of King Henry "VIII.]" From which he was so far, that he often boldly and publickly declared against divers things which the King was bent upon; as in the act of the six Articles, and in composing the book called *The Necessary Erudition*. That "these three, the King, Queen Ann, and Archbishop Cran-"mer, held the catholick faith, usages, and rites; and went "as devoutly to mass as ever, and so remained they, in "outward shew, even to their deaths." Though some years before Cranmer's death, namely, from the first year of King Edward, the mass was wholly laid aside, and never used at all. That "Cranmer and Crumwel went to mass, after the "King married the Lady Ann Bolen, as before." What they did as to the going to mass, our histories tell us little of: if they did, it was with little approbation of it. "And "as Crumwel on the scaffold protested, that he was a good "catholick man, (but there is difference between a good "catholick, and a Roman catholick,) and never doubted of "any of the church sacraments then used." Thereby intending, I suppose, to make a difference between them and the Gospel sacraments. But surely Crumwel in his lifetime was so utterly against four or five of them, that he brought Alesse, a learned man, into a convocation to dispute there for two only. "And the like Cranmer had done no "doubt, if he had been brought to the scaffold in King "Henry's days: which had been a happy case for him." To a scaffold they of the Roman persuasion endeavoured many a year to bring him; and they would have thought it a happy case for them, if they could have brought it to pass. But I verily believe the quite contrary to this confident af-

BOOK III. ſertion, and that he would have owned the truth to the laſt, as he did afterwards in the reign of that King's daughter, Queen Mary.

463 That "he always fell jump with them that governed, and "could do moſt." No, he never fell in with Gardiner, who ſometime had the aſcendant over King Henry; nor with the Duke of Northumberland, who could do moſt, and did all for a time with King Edward. That "when King Henry "was large towards the Proteſtants, Cranmer was ſo alſo, "joining with Crumwel to protect them. But when the "King became more ſtrait and rigorous, eſpecially after "the ſix Articles, Cranmer was ready to proſecute the "ſame." He argued long and earneſtly in the Houſe againſt thoſe ſix Articles; and, when he ſaw they would paſs, he proteſted againſt it; and was ſo troubled about it, that the King ſent the Duke of Norfolk and the Lord Crumwel, and divers other noble perſons, to comfort him in the King's name. So that I hardly think he would after this be brought to proſecute that bloody act, the making of which he ſo utterly diſliked. Nor is there the leaſt footſtep of it in hiſtory. Indeed Parſons bringeth in ſome perſons, in whoſe deaths he would have the Archbiſhop to have a hand. "As may appear," ſaith he, "by the ſentence of "death pronounced againſt Lambert, Thomas Gerard, Wil-"liam Jerome, and Ann Aſcue, and others, condemned by "him for denying the real preſence." Though in King Henry's time the Archbiſhop believed the real preſence, yet he was not for putting any to death that denied it. No; ſuch extreme rigours, for an error, he utterly deteſted. Lambert ſuffered before the act of the ſix Articles. Nor did the Archbiſhop condemn him, but only, by the King's command, diſputed againſt him. Gerard, [he means Garret,] and Jerome, and Ann Aſcue, were condemned and burnt indeed; but he had no manner of hand either in their condemnation or death, as we can find in our hiſtories. But Wincheſter, Boner, and Wriotheſly, and others of that gang, ſhed thoſe good people's blood. And it is an impudent falſehood to lay their condemnation to the Archbiſhop's charge.

He ſaith further, that "to the King's will and liking he "reſolved to conform himſelf, as well in religion, as in all

" other things." If he had faid this of Biſhop Gardiner, the character would have better by far fitted him. He faith, that " he divorced the King of his own authority from Queen " Katherine." Whereas, in truth, what he and Winchefter, and other biſhops, did in this affair, was by commiſſion from the King, and not by their own authority. That " he mar- " ried the King to Queen Ann." That " it was in open " parliament, under his hand-writing, yet extant in public " printed records, to his eternal ſhame, that the Queen [that " is, Queen Ann] was never true wife unto the ſaid King." Where was the eternal ſhame of this, when he ſet his hand to no more than what ſhe herſelf confeſſed before him? See more of this before. That " after this he married the " King to Jane Seymour, and after to Queen Ann of Cleves, " and after that to Katherine Howard, and after that to Ka- " therine Parre." Which we muſt take upon his word: for I think it hard by any good hiſtory to know it. And what if Cranmer did all this? That " he joined with the Pro- " tector in overthrowing King Henry's will; and with Dud- " ley againſt the Protector." Palpable falſehoods! the contrary whereof is notoriouſly known to any ordinary hiſtorian. Of the ſame truth is, that " he joined with Dudley 464
" and the Duke of Suffolk for the overthrow of the King's " two daughters: and after that with Arundel, Pembroke, " Paget, for the overthrow of Northumberland and Suffolk." He joined with theſe for the ſetting the true heir in the throne, not for the overthrow of any particular perſons.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Again, he ſaith, " Cranmer and Ridley followed King " Henry's religion and humour while he lived, and reſolved " to enjoy the pleaſures and ſenſualities of this time, [of " King Edward,] ſo far as any way they might attain unto." No, they were men more mortified, and that made little account of the pleaſures and vanities of this wretched world. " Getting authority into their hands by the Protector, and " others that were in moſt place, began to lay luſtily about " them, and to pull down all them, both of the clergy and " others, whom they thought to be able and likely to ſtand " in their way, or reſiſt their inventions." Inſtancing in Gardiner and Boner, and ſpeaking of their " unjuſt perſecu- " tion and deprivation, by ſuch violent and calumnious man-

BOOK III.

"ner as is proper to hereticks to uſe: whereby a man "may take a taſte what they meant to have done if they "had had time." Here they are ſet forth as a couple of moſt worldly, ambitious, haughty men, contriving by all, however baſe and unlawful ways, to build up themſelves and their fortunes upon the ruin of others, and to beat down all that oppoſed their deſigns. Whereas to any that ſhall read their hiſtories, there was nothing in the world ſo contrary to their aims, tempers, and inclinations. And things were done towards the two Biſhops before mentioned with great mildneſs and patience, under unſufferable provocations offered by them. Nor was it Cranmer's and Ridley's doings, but rather the King's council, who thought not fit to put up the affronts thoſe Biſhops had offered to the government.

He ſaith, that "in King Edward's time Cranmer played "the tyrant." That "he puniſhed one Thomas Dobb, a "maſter of arts of Cambridge, caſting him into the Coun- "ter, where he died. And John Hume, impriſoned for the "ſame cauſe by Cranmer." Both theſe paſſages the author had from Fox. Dobbs indeed, in the very beginning of King Edward's reign, diſturbed the maſs that was ſaying in a chapel in St. Paul's: for which the Mayor complained of him to the Archbiſhop. And what could he do better than commit him to the Counter, both to puniſh him for making a public diſturbance in the church, and alſo to deliver him from the rage of the multitude, till his pardon could be gotten him? which was obtained ſoon after from the Duke of Somerſet: but he ſuddenly died in priſon, before his deliverance. And as for Hume, he was a ſervant to a very ſtiff Papiſt, who ſent him up to the Archbiſhop, with a grievous complaint againſt him for ſpeaking againſt the maſs; but whether the Archbiſhop impriſoned him, or what followed, Fox mentioneth not, and leaves it uncertain what was done with him.

He ſaith, "that Cranmer ſtood reſolutely for the carnal "preſence in the ſacrament in King Edward's firſt parlia- "ment: wherein a diſputation about it was continued for the "ſpace of four months; that is, from November 4. to March "14." Which was the full time of the ſecond ſeſſion of

that firſt parliament, and was in the year 1548. What he means by this long diſputation in that parliament, for ſo many months, I cannot tell. Does he mean, that the parliament did nothing elſe all that ſeſſion? Indeed there was once a notable diſpute of the ſacrament, in order to an uniformity of prayer to be eſtabliſhed. Or does he mean that this four months diſputation was the work of the convocation ſitting that parliament-time? Before it indeed lay now the matter of the prieſts' marriage; which they agreed to, almoſt three againſt one: and likewiſe of receiving the ſacrament in both kinds; which was alſo agreed to *nemine contradicente*. But not a word of any diſputation then about the real preſence. And yet it is ſtrange that he ſhould with ſuch confidence put this ſtory upon the world, of four months diſputation in the parliament concerning the real preſence; and that the Archbiſhop then was ſo reſolute for it. Which cannot be true neither on this account, that Cranmer was a year or two before this come off from that opinion. He adds, "that Cranmer ſtood reſolutely in that "firſt parliament for a real preſence againſt Zuinglianiſm." But there was neither in that parliament, nor in that convocation, a word of the real preſence. "And that Cran- "mer and Ridley did allow a real preſence, and would not "endure the ſacrament ſhould be contemptibly ſpoken of, "as ſome now began to do." The real preſence that Parſons here means is, the groſs corporal preſence, fleſh, blood, and bone, as they uſed to ſay. This real preſence Cranmer and Ridley did not allow of at this time of day: now they were better enlightened. But moſt true it is notwithſtanding, that they could not endure to have the ſacrament contemptibly ſpoken of.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 405

King Edward's Journal.

He tells us romantickly on the ſame argument, that "many poſts went to and fro, between Peter Martyr and "Cranmer, while the imaginary diſputation before men- "tioned laſted, whether Lutheraniſm or Zuinglianiſm ſhould "be taken up for the doctrine of the church of England. "For that he was come, in his reading upon the eleventh "of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, to thoſe words, *This "is my body*, and did not know how to determine it, till it "was reſolved about. The meſſage returned him was, that

BOOK III.

"he ſhould ſtay, and entertain himſelf in his readings upon "other matters for a while. And ſo the poor Friar did, [as "Parſons calls that learned man,] with admiration and "laughter of all his ſcholars." Surely ſome of them had more eſteem and reverence for him. "Standing upon thoſe "precedent words; *Accepit panem, &c.* And, *Gratias dedit,* "*&c. Fregit. Et dixit, Accipite et manducate, &c.* Diſ- "courſing largely of every one of theſe points." And ſurely they were words of ſufficient weight to be ſtood upon, and points to be diſcourſed largely of. "And hearing one from "the other that enſued, *Hoc eſt corpus meum.* But when "the poſt at length came, that Zuinglianiſm muſt be de- "fended, then ſtepped up Peter Martyr boldly the next day, "and treated of *This is my body:* adding moreover, that he "wondered how any man could be of any other opinion." The reporters of this ſtory Parſons makes to be Saunders, Allen, and Stapleton, and others that were preſent: excellent witneſſes! Peter Martyr is here repreſented as a man of no conſcience or honeſty, but ready to ſay and teach whatſoever others bade him, be the doctrine right or wrong; and, at the beck of the ſtate, to be a Lutheran or a Zuinglian. But if he were of ſuch a verſatile mind, why did he leave his country, his relations, his ſubſtance, his honour, that he had there? which he did becauſe he could not comply with the errors of the church in which he lived. But all this fine pleaſant tale is ſpoiled, in caſe Martyr were not yet come to Oxford to be reader there: for he came over into England but in the end of November 1548, and was then ſometime with the Archbiſhop before he went to Oxford. Which we may well conjecture was till the winter was pretty well over; ſo that he could not well be there before the 14th of March was paſſed. The author of the *Athenæ Oxonienſes* conjectures, that he came to Oxon in February, or the beginning of March; but that it was the beginning of the next year that the King appointed him to read his lecture. So that either he was not yet at Oxon, or, if he were, he had not yet begun his reading till the parliament was over. And thus we have traced this ſtory till it is quite vaniſhed.

466

Simleri Orat. in Obit. P. Mart.

P. 107.

Further ſtill, he writes, "That Cranmer wrote a book for

"the real preſence, and another againſt it afterwards: CHAP.
"which two books Boner brought forth, and would have XXXVIII.
"read them, when he was depoſed by Cranmer and Ridley;
"or at leaſtwiſe certain ſentences thereof, that were con-
"trary one to the other." If Cranmer wrote any book for the real preſence, it was in Luther's, not in the Popiſh ſenſe; and againſt that ſenſe indeed he wrote in his book of the Sacrament. Nor did Boner bring any ſuch books forth at his depoſition, or deprivation, nor offered to read them, nor any ſentences out of them, for ought I can find in any hiſtorians that ſpeak of Boner's buſineſs: and I think none do, but Fox, who hath not a word of it, though he hath given a large narration of that whole affair. Indeed Boner at his firſt appearance told the Archbiſhop, "That he had written "well on the ſacrament, and wondered that he did not more "honour it." To which the Archbiſhop replied, (ſeeing him commend that which was againſt his own opinion,) "That if "he thought well of it, it was becauſe he underſtood it not." Thus we may ſee how Parſons writ he cared not what; and took up any lying, flying reports from his own party, that might but ſerve his turn. But obſerve how this writer goes on with his tale; "But Cranmer bluſhing, ſuffered it not to "be ſhewed; but ſaid, he made no book contrary to an-"other." Then he needed not to have bluſhed. But if he did, it muſt be at the impudence of Boner, who carried himſelf in ſuch a tumultuous bold manner throughout his whole proceſs, as though he had no ſhame left. And laſtly, (to extract no more paſſages out of this author,) to prove that our Archbiſhop was for a corporal preſence in the beginning of King Edward, he ſaith, that "in the firſt year of "that reign he was a principal cauſe of that firſt ſtatute, in-"tituled, An Act againſt ſuch perſons as ſhall unreverently "ſpeak againſt the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of "Chriſt, commonly called, The Sacrament of the Altar." And a very good act it was: but it does not follow, that becauſe the Archbiſhop was the cauſe of this act, that therefore he believed a groſs carnal preſence; the plain deſign of the act being occaſioned by certain perſons, "who had con- 467
"temned the whole thing, for certain abuſes heretofore "committed therein, (I uſe the very words of the act,) and

BOOK III.

"had called it by vile and unſeemly words. And it was "levelled againſt ſuch as ſhould deprave, deſpiſe, or con- "temn the bleſſed ſacrament." Nor is there any word in that act uſed in favour of the carnal preſence.

Fox in behalf of Cranmer.

Jo. Fox againſt Hierom. Oſorius, p. 538.

For a concluſion, let the reader not hear me, but another ſpeak for our Archbiſhop againſt one of theſe calumniators, and he a Portugal biſhop: "After Cranmer, by hearing "of the Goſpel, began to favour of chriſtian profeſſion, "what wickedneſs was ever reported of him? With what "outrage of luſt was he enflamed? What murders, what "ſeditious tumults, what ſecret conſpiracies, were ever ſeen "or ſuſpected ſo much to proceed from him? unleſs ye ac- "count him blameworthy for this, that when King Henry, "father to Mary, upon great diſpleaſure conceived, was "for ſome ſecret cauſes determined to ſtrike off her head, "this reverend Archbiſhop did pacify the wrath of the "father, and with mild continual interceſſion preſerved the "life of the daughter: who, for life preſerved, acquitted her "patron with death.

"As concerning his marriage, if you reproachfully im- "pute that to luſt, which Paul doth dignify with ſo ho- "nourable a title; I do anſwer, that he was the huſband "of one wife, with whom he continued many years more "chaſtely and holily than Oſorius in that his ſtinking, ſole, "and ſingle life, peradventure one month, though he flee "never ſo often to his catholick confeſſions. And I ſee "no cauſe why the name of a wife ſhall not be accounted "in each reſpect as holy, with the true profeſſors of the "Goſpel, as the name of a concubine with the Papiſts." Thus Fox.

The concluſion.

And ſo I have at laſt, by God's favourable concurrence, finiſhed this my work: and have compiled an imperfect hiſtory, yet with the beſt diligence I could, of this ſingular Archbiſhop and bleſſed martyr; and, in the concluſion, have briefly vindicated him from thoſe many falſe ſurmiſes and imputations, that his implacable enemies of the Roman faction have reported and publiſhed abroad againſt him: not contented with the ſhedding of his blood, unleſs they

ſtigmatized his name and memory, and formed the world into a belief, that he was one of the vileſt wretches that lived, who in reality and truth appeareth to have been one of the holieſt Biſhops, and one of the beſt men that age produced. CHAP. XXXVII.

2735